

HISTORY
OF THE
CATHOLIC
CHURCH

MOURRET-
THOMPSON

VOLUME
SIX

A HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

BY

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VOLUME SIX

PERIOD OF THE ANCIENT REGIME

THE
CATHOLIC
CHURCH

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A HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

VOLUME VI

I. THE CATHOLIC RENAISSANCE

II. ORTHODOXY

III. THE STRIFE AGAINST UNBELIEF

Introduction

THE term "ancient regime" is generally used to indicate the political and social life of the European nations during the two centuries preceding the French Revolution.¹

That period is particularly marked by the rise of absolute monarchies, the centralization of government, and the weakening or disappearance of provincial and local special privileges.

At first blush it all appears majestically arranged. In Germany, France, Spain, and England, the king, no longer restrained by feudal rivalries, was absolute master. Uniformity prevailed in the laws. The two tendencies, traditional and progressive, which had clashed during the Renaissance, apparently reached a stable equilibrium.

We would be mistaken if we came to a final judgment about the ancient regime on the basis of this external organization. Many a traditional practice was still much alive: the jurists did not succeed in abolishing them, and the royal authority hesitated to challenge them. Anyone who should form an opinion of the government of that time simply by reading its laws would make some absurd mistakes. The rule was rigid; the practice was flexible. Such was the ancient regime.² That dualism produced a deep feeling of discontent. The nobleman, wishing to keep his privileges without any longer fulfilling the social obligations that were his corresponding duty, became unpopu-

¹ The ancient regime did not disappear everywhere at the same time. When it fell in France in 1789, it received its mortal blow in Austria at the hands of Joseph II. In Spain it persisted until 1810, and continued even longer in England.

² Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the Revolution*, p. 89.

lar. The peasant, having become a landowner, was proud of his advancement; but he still suffered from the taxation that reached him directly, and he complained at this. The spirit of autonomy and independence, which had found its lawful satisfaction and needful regulation in the medieval institutions, now began to grumble in a low tone. In France, one of the most traditional institutions, the Parliament, at times became a center of revolutionary agitation.

The religious condition of the ancient regime presented a like complexity. A period that gave a Bossuet to the Christian pulpit, a Petau, a Mabillon, and a Thomassin to Catholic scholarship, was in many respects a period of high attainment. Few epochs have presented greater religious problems and have produced greater genius for their solution. The whole question of the relations of Church and state were involved in the question of Gallicanism. The very foundations of dogma and morals were the subject of the Jansenist disputes. In the question of quietism Bossuet and Fénelon open up the most delicate notions of asceticism and mysticism. The whole method of preaching the gospel to the infidels was at stake in the conflict between the Jesuits and Dominicans. The entire rejuvenation of apologetics was Pascal's aim. In the internal crisis that undermined Protestantism, Leibnitz and Spener tried to go back to the very essence of Christianity. The defense of the basis of the supernatural order was the work of the apologists of the eighteenth century, against the deism of Voltaire and Rousseau. Whoever opens the memoirs and correspondence of the time will see that the religious question dominates almost every page.

Yet we must recognize that, in many instances, religion is a matter of formality rather than something spontaneous, more outward than deep, more a matter of prevailing fashion than of instinct. Furthermore, the ancient regime is traversed by schismatic, heretical, and irreligious currents, mostly springing from the Protestant heresy and destined to be appropriated

by the Freemasonry of the eighteenth century. The teaching of Jansen and St. Cyran is a sort of Protestantism when it preaches determinism and declaims so loudly against the corruption of the Church. Semi-Protestant, too, is parliamentary Gallicanism when it proclaims the absolute independence of the civil powers with regard to Rome and their right to intervene in purely ecclesiastical affairs. Semi-Protestant also is the quietism of Molinos and Madame Guyon, to the extent that it teaches man's direct relations with God and the futility of personal effort. Philosophism, affirming the absolute rights of the individual conscience, is nothing more than Protestant individualism without the Bible, pushed to its most extreme consequences.

The ancient regime, so majestic in its political structure and so venerable in the religious sentiments animating it, found itself penetrated little by little with antireligious and antisocial principles that would result in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

PART I

THE CATHOLIC RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER I

The Papacy, 1600-55

The Jubilee

THE sixteenth century came to a close with magnificent ceremonies. The jubilee year 1600 brought to Rome more than three million pilgrims. The last years of the century had witnessed many outrages against the Roman Pontiff and a profound disturbance of European countries. The Catholics of the whole world felt the need of rallying more closely about the common father of the faithful and of publicly expressing their loyalty and submission to him.

This glorious spectacle did not prevent Clement VIII from clearly perceiving the reality of the situation. The Protestant heresy appeared to be implanted in the northern countries as a permanent growth. It was supreme in Germany from the Rhine to the Vistula, from the Main to the North Sea and the Baltic. In England, triumphant Protestantism prompted the enactment of Draconian laws in increasing number and severity against Catholics. It was preponderant in Scandinavia and the Netherlands. Of the thirteen cantons of Switzerland it had won at least six to its side. The countries that remained Catholic no longer formed that powerful unity, hierarchically organized about the pope and the emperor, such as the Middle Ages had known. Spain, politically established in northern and southern Italy, was there arousing more and more the susceptibilities of the independent states. The Republic of Venice, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Duchy of Savoy, aspired to acquire autonomy; the smaller states of Italy turned their po-

litical leanings in different directions according to the circumstances of the moment. Hungary, formerly the bulwark of Christian Europe, was weakened by the heretical sects, and disturbed by ceaseless incursions of the Turks.

Only two nations, France and Austria, seemed capable of taking in hand the cause of the Church. France was, indeed, sharply divided, its institutions were disorganized, the whole country was ruined by wars and dissensions, the causes of these disasters apparently to be perpetuated by the Edict of Nantes, which was excessively favorable to the Protestants. But Europe had learned to know the valiant and generous King of France, an able statesman as well as a fearless soldier; people could confidently expect that the privileges accorded by him to his former coreligionists would be only provisional and that the zeal of the new convert would more and more manifest itself in favor of the Catholic Church.

The Emperor of Austria was that Rudolf II whose intellectual preoccupations often distracted him from attention to political problems and whose impulsive character, alternately indolent and aroused, seemed poorly suited for energetic and persevering action. But he belonged to that powerful house of the Habsburgs whose two branches, the Spanish and the Austrian, were striving, by numerous intermarriages, to cement a sort of family pact between them. As Rudolf bore the title of Emperor and held this high imperial office, his most essential concern impelled him to become the champion of the Roman Church. If, of all the countries of Teutonic tongue, Germany was the one where the old religion was best defended, the reason for that condition must be sought only in the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire. The emperor could not keep his suzerainty over Italy, Lorraine, and the Netherlands, his position of primacy among Christian princes, at the same time that he posed as the head of a German Church, schismatic and heretical. By the very nature of the political institutions and in

spite of all the racial tendencies, the Protestant party in Germany at that time could be nothing else but an opposition party.

The hopes of the Church had until then rested on Germany and the house of Habsburg. But at the beginning of the seventeenth century the question might well arise, whether the direction of the papal policy was not about to change. The marked friendliness of Clement VIII for Henry after the latter's conversion, might indeed forecast an alliance with France, the dreaded rival of Austria and Spain. Such an eventuality was feared in the country south of the Pyrenees. Hence arose an opposition of Spaniards, that was a chief cause of anxiety for Catholics. Other causes of anxiety were disturbing the Christian world. The increasing favor which Clement VIII showed to his nephew, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, stirred the papal court and the Roman nobility; the liveliness of the quarrel between the Thomists of the Order of St. Dominic and the Molinists of the Society of Jesus complicated the difficulties of the political situation with considerations of a more internal sort. With regard to Molina's book, two projects for its censure, drawn up in 1598 and 1600, agitated public opinion. The question arose whether a condemnation of Molinism would not lower the valiant Society of Jesus from the preponderant place it held in the Church.

In the period following the great jubilee festivities of 1600 more than one cloud darkened the horizon of the Church. Yet, by and large, the position was firmly established. The decrees of the Council of Trent and the measures taken by the reforming popes of the latter part of the sixteenth century had borne their fruit. The papacy was no longer that feeble and disputed power, making the head of the Church rely on his neighbors or on factions, with their opposing influences succeeding one another after bitter conflicts between them. Clement VIII had been the choice of all and continued the policy of the deceased Pope. This result was of considerable importance and was prolonged

under the following pontificates. The papacy was not alone in benefiting by this transformation. Individual jealousies and ambitions henceforth had to restrain themselves, and the Pope's entourage necessarily conformed to the new conditions of the government of the Church. Nepotism, that plague of the preceding ages, had undergone a notable change under the influence of Paul IV and Pius V: it had been feudal in nature, now it assumed a character of rank and finance. The new circumstances, unfavorable to that institution, soon led to its complete disappearance.¹

Clement VIII (1592-1605)

The hard-working, austere, and devout Pontiff who occupied the chair of Peter at the beginning of the century possessed the qualities needed for maintaining the supreme authority in the eyes of princes and peoples. Clement VIII,² who was honored by being the friend of Philip Neri and who every day knelt at the feet of Father Baronius to make his confession, had not the might of intellect and will of Sixtus V, whose disciple he proudly boasted that he was. But he honestly purposed to follow the policy of the great Pope. His views were broad and lofty. His pontificate was not without analogy to that of Boniface VIII, who, at the outset of the fourteenth century, when the jurists of Philip the Fair were undermining the social structure of the Middle Ages, took in hand the defense of the institutions of Christendom. In 1600, at the very

¹ Nepotism disappeared completely only under Innocent XII, at the end of the seventeenth century. We meet the two favorite nephews again, one in the sacred college, the other in the civil administration. According to established usage, the cardinal nephew is ineligible for the papacy; but he has a notable influence in the election of the next pope. Cf. Ranke, *History of the Popes*, I, 367 (Bk. IV, chap. 6).

² Ippolito Aldobrandini, proclaimed pope on January 20, 1592, under the name of Clement VIII, was born in 1536 in the States of the Church, of an illustrious Florentine family. Sixtus V had made him a cardinal in 1585 and sent him as legate to Poland in 1586.

time when the greatest of the Spanish writers was penning, with friendly irony, the caricature of chivalry,³ the chivalrous spirit of past times was haunting the court of Clement VIII.

The generous Pontiff made of this spirit the chief inspiration of his policy. The Ottoman Empire, perpetually at war with Hungary, ceaselessly disturbed by revolts in Asia, sapped by the corruption of the seraglio, seemed to be growing weaker and weaker. To rally the Christian nations about the head of the Church for a new crusade, was the project of Clement VIII. The King of France, to whom the conduct of the expedition was destined, declined participation in the undertaking.⁴ But he did accept gladly the arbitration of the papacy in concluding the Treaty of Vervins which, in 1598, brought about a truce, if not an end, to the age-old conflict between France and Spain. Three years later, Clement VIII again intervened to reconcile the King of France and the Duke of Savoy by the Treaty of Lyons.⁵ By these acts the Pope continued the traditions of the old papal right in international conflicts. The grateful Henry IV, as a Christian prince, sustained the rights of the Holy See and helped it to triumph over Caesar d'Este in the recovery of the Duchy of Ferrara, claimed by Clement VIII as an apostolic fief.

Would these services suffice to orientate the papal policy toward France? To do this would be to abandon Austria and Spain. Under Philip II the Spanish colossus had exercised a heavy pressure on Europe, backed by the power of gold, the supplies of which it held, and by the prestige of the Cross, which it tried to monopolize to its own advantage. At that time this

³ Cervantes' novel, *Don Quixote*, appeared in 1605. It had considerable influence on the changing ideas of the time.

⁴ Forty-two letters of Henry IV, found in the archives of Prince Doria, enable us to follow the policy of the King of France in this affair. After vague promises, he eluded the invitation of Clement VIII. Henry IV thought that an alliance with the sultan would better serve the interests of French commerce and of the Catholic missions in the Orient.

⁵ Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, XI, 1-3.

power seemed to be on the point of crushing all national independence everywhere and, with the fragments of Christendom subject to the pope, to remake a new Christendom dominated by the Habsburgs. The great empire that encompassed Rome and France by its kingdoms, its fiefs, its presidios, its allies, seemed likely to be the last bulwark of the Church against heresy. Chivalrous, but timid, Clement VIII hesitated to take part in the project.

An able diplomat, equally devoted to France and to the Church, Arnaud d'Ossat, led the Pope from his hesitation and prudently showed him the path to follow. In spite of what Sully says in his *Mémoires*, Henry IV did not then form the great design of reorganizing Europe in a vast Christian commonwealth where the three religions—Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist—would form a mighty federation against the barbarous Muscovite and the infidel Turk. The policy of the Bearnese King was too practical to indulge in those adventurous fancies; but it did merit studious attention. Arnaud d'Ossat wrote as follows: "Holy Father, the Pope and the court of Rome can do much good for the King of France. . . . The King of Spain, with all his power and his forces both by land and by sea, cannot harm you so much as this court can by sitting still. . . . The King of France ought to regard as certain that, as his affairs go in France, so will they go at Rome."

He who wrote these lines, who so clearly saw how artificial was the display of material forces by Spain and what fruitful reserve was to be found in the resources of his country, was the lowly son of a horseshoer, born in 1535 at the foot of the Pyrenees, of Gascon or Bearnese stock. The Church had made him a cardinal; and the King of France, an ambassador.⁶ His

⁶ What we call the diplomatic career did not then exist, at least in France. Something approaching it was to be found in the Republic of Venice and in the service of the king of Spain. A great lord would go to some court for a definite purpose, with a personal and temporary mission. In his suite he had some gentlemen for the sake of pomp, some personal servants, generally clerics to act as secretaries. Besides

wise and moderate counsel prevailed with Clement VIII and, without prompting a rupture of the Holy See with Austria and Spain, drew it as close as possible to France.

For a while the Supreme Pontiff hoped that England would give him the same consolations. When James I ascended the throne in 1603, the Pope sent him sincere greetings; and to the Queen, who he knew was secretly a Catholic, he sent a letter full of hope. But soon the Gunpowder Plot served as a pretext for the most shameful persecution and utterly destroyed the Pope's hopes.⁷

In the administration of his states and in the spiritual government of the Church, Clement VIII's activities had freer scope and could be more effective. Few pontiffs have been surrounded by cardinals as eminent as those of Clement VIII. At the side of D'Ossat, whose virtue was not less than his talent, the Pope introduced into the sacred college the illustrious Duperron, who had been converted from the Calvinist heresy to the Catholic faith by the reading of the Church Fathers and who by his persuasive eloquence had brought many Protestants to the Church; the scholarly Toletus, whose writings aroused the same admiration in Bossuet and in Richard Simon; Bellarmine, the master of controversy; Baronius, the Father of Church History. Aided by the counsel of these great men, Clement VIII accomplished important reforms: he established a new apportionment of taxes in the States of the Church, put the revenues of the communes under a special inspection, and made the barons submit to a strict justice. Attentive to the exact

these embassies would be found friendly agents acting as go-betweens. At Rome, where all the affairs of Christendom converged and criss-crossed, the semi-official agents were legion. . . . For France an age-old tradition was to maintain at Rome some Roman prelates who remained good and active Frenchmen. . . . For twenty-five years this tradition had no guardian more adroit than the Abbé d'Ossat" (E. M. de Vogué, "Le cardinal d'Ossat," in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 1, 1895).

⁷ "Fu creduto da molti, et anche da Papa Clemente VIII, che la religione cattolica avesse a montar sul Trono con questo Re. Si trovarono ben ingannati (Muratori, *Annali*, XI, 10).

observance of the canonical and liturgical rules, he published new editions of the Index, the Pontifical, the Ceremonial of Bishops, the breviary, and the Missal. By a bull of November 25, 1592, he instituted the Forty Hours' Adoration. He forbade the recitation, in the liturgical offices, of any other litanies but those of the saints and of Loreto, and decreed severe penalties against duelists. His solicitude extended particularly to the faithful of the Greek rite; in 1595 he graciously welcomed the delegates of the Ruthenian Church, who came to treat of their union with Rome; he required their adherence to the decrees of the Council of Florence and granted to the metropolitan the right to consecrate the bishops for the sees that would become vacant, but every newly elected metropolitan must ask confirmation of his election from Rome; a bull regulated in a general way the liturgical rules observed by the Greeks established in Italy.

For most of his reforms Clement VIII did not judge it advisable to submit the questions to the deliberations of the cardinalitial congregations that Sixtus V had wisely organized about the head of the Church. He was aware of the delays that such a method might encounter, and his entourage was not at all displeased with this practice; but as the Pope advanced in age, everybody noted that one of his nephews, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, took a more and more preponderant place in the administration of the Church. His exceptional ability explained why the Pope let him assume so important a role. But the Roman nobility chafed at this. The Farnese family, that an old rivalry kept in opposition to the family of the Aldobrandini, became the center of an opposition movement which degenerated into revolt. *Cavalieri* and *nobili* flocked to the Farnese palace. Their common talk was that the Pope and the Church must be delivered from the captivity in which Cardinal Aldobrandini was holding them. Several members of the sacred college were won over to their side.

The Aldobrandini were known as having a leaning toward France; the Farnese openly favored the Spaniards. Some forces of Spanish troops, called by them, even appeared on the Neapolitan frontier, and the question arose whether the grievous factional strifes, that had embroiled the people of Rome in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, might not suddenly be renewed. Such an event would have been the ruin of the peaceful policy introduced by Clement VIII, who had up to then shown his friendliness for France without breaking with the Habsburgs. The sagacity of Cardinal Farnese and the ability of Cardinal Aldobrandini succeeded in preventing an outburst of violence. While Aldobrandini, taking advantage of the hatred for the Spanish which awoke so quickly in Italy at each interference by the foreigner, rallied the states of the peninsula in a formidable league under the protection of France, Cardinal Farnese prudently withdrew to his estates of Castro, where his foe let him find consolation for his defeat by the enthusiastic ovations of his friends.⁸

These incidents saddened the last days of Clement VIII. The death of Cardinal d'Ossat in the meantime (1604) was a particularly sad blow to the Pope. He thereupon fell ill. At the beginning of 1605 the fresh outbreak of the long theological quarrel, momentarily lulled, that divided the Dominicans and the Jesuits, gave him increased concern. He was petitioned to make a decision for or against the Molinists.⁹ The Pope was attacked by intermittent fever, which suddenly grew more serious. He died on March 3, 1605, at the age of sixty-nine.¹⁰

⁸ *Ibid.*, XI, 15.

⁹ Clement VIII evidently leaned to the Thomist opinion. However, if we are to believe one of his close confidants, Cardinal Monopolio, his idea was never to condemn Molina, but to define certain doctrines of St. Augustine admitted by both parties. But he died without having made any decision. Cf. J. de la Servière, in art. "Clement VIII," Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*

¹⁰ Muratori, *op. cit.*, XI, 16.

Leo XI (1605)

The sixty-two members of the sacred college entered into conclave on March 14, 1605. Among so many illustrious cardinals, to which one would the keys of Peter be entrusted? Their thoughts turned to Baronius and Bellarmine. Baronius had almost completed his monumental *Annales ecclesiastici*. Both his vast learning and the lofty virtues that have won for him the title of Venerable, seemed to designate him to the choice of his colleagues.¹¹ But Spain found fault with the impartial annalist for having taken a stand against the Spanish claims in Sicily and for having influenced the mind of Clement VIII toward France.¹² In a word, the court of Madrid formally opposed his election. All the controversies of the time had, for Bellarmine, been occasions for manifesting the depth of his learning and the activity of his zeal. But his attitude in the affair of the congregation *de Auxiliis*, and his intervention with Clement VIII to prevent a condemnation of Molinism had alienated from him the approval of several of his colleagues.¹³ However, the illustrious Jesuit obtained ten votes in the first ballot. The scholarly Oratorian received twenty; the second ballot gave him thirty-seven. The two great men were quite above any personal ambition. Said Bellarmine: "If I could become Pope by merely lifting a straw from the ground, I would not stoop to pick it up." Baronius, who lacked only three votes for his election, persuaded his friends not to continue voting for him.

¹¹ Cf. G. Calenzio, *La vita e gli scritti del card. C. Baronio*.

¹² Baronius, Clement's confessor, made use of his influence to facilitate the reconciliation of Henry IV with the Church. This event brought about friendly relations between the Pope and the French King. The Spaniards blamed Baronius for this result.

¹³ In Serry, *Hist. cong. de Auxiliis*, Bk. II, chap. 26, see the confidential letter in which Baronius endeavors to dissuade the Pope from making a decision on this complex question of the effects of grace. Cf. Le Bachelet in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, II, 567.

In a unanimous desire to assure peace to the Church, all the votes of the conclave were cast for Cardinal Alessandro de Medici, who took the name of Leo XI. This seventy-year-old man was unselfish, affable, joining to all the great qualities of his race those of a well-known austerity and unqualified uprightness. The Medici family which, in less than a century, had given empresses to Germany, two queens to France, wives to all the greatest princes of Europe, and four popes to the Roman Church, seemed likely to have the good will of all the nations. The news of his election was received in France with great joy. One historian reports that the King of France had bonfires lighted in Paris, the church bells rang, the churches resounded with hymns, and the cannons of the Arsenal were fired, publishing by these mouths of fire the part that this great prince took in the elevation of this great Pope.

But the universal joy was of short duration. When the Pope returned from the ceremony of taking possession of St. John Lateran, he suffered an attack of fever and took to bed. The sickness was aggravated by his advanced age and by the burden of the heavy responsibilities of his office. He died less than a month later (April 29, 1605). On his deathbed, when someone spoke to him about some temporal affairs, he said: "Permit me to be concerned solely with eternal matters." His elevation, consequent on the abnegation of two great men, and his admirable death, left the Christian world precious examples, the only fruit of his brief occupation of the chair of Peter.

Paul V (1605-21)

In the new conclave, which met on May 8, Baronius' influence was preponderant. He profited by it to turn the votes of his colleagues to the name of Bellarmine, who in turn refused to sanction his candidacy. Amid the lively disputes then divid-

ing men's minds, his being a Jesuit would probably have rendered his action difficult.

Then the attention of Cardinal Aldobrandini turned to Cardinal Camillo Borghese, whose works, though not rivalling the brilliance of those of Baronius and Bellarmine, were such as to win him everybody's esteem. He was fifty-five years old, but appeared not more than forty. His tall and majestic figure, his dignified bearing and fine features, all were prepossessing. His previously retired and quiet life had kept him outside any party intrigues. He was praised for "the blameless purity of his life, his love for things of religion, and the loftiness of his mind, which seemed to destine him to conceive and realize great things."¹⁴ The French and the Spaniards welcomed his candidacy, presented by the cardinal nephew of Clement VIII, with as much favor as did the Germans and the Italians. Every indication gave reason to hope that he would continue the policy of Clement VIII. On the evening of May 16, 1605, he was unanimously elected and took the name of Paul V.

From the profession of lawyer, which he had at first practiced, Paul V had preserved the habit of judicial exactness, a deep respect for civil and canonical laws, and a pronounced taste for firm and exact regulations.

From the very first days of his pontificate, the new Pope's attention seemed to turn less to the Protestants, who were attacking the Church from without, than to the bad Christians who were compromising it from within. Camillo Borghese, in several judicial memoirs, had had occasion to manifest his zeal in defending the rights of the papacy and the clergy. The circumstances of his election increased this zeal. Chosen without any scheming and by the unanimous vote of his colleagues, he was accustomed throughout his life to regard his elevation to the pontificate as a direct call of Providence. He used to say

¹⁴ Muratori, XI, 14.

that he was elected by God, not by men. "I have been elevated to this See," he said, "not by men, but by the divine Spirit, with the duty of preserving the immunities of the Church, the privileges of God: in my conscience I am bound to devote all my strength to free the Church from usurpation and violence; I prefer to expose my life rather than be obliged to be accountable some day for neglect of my duties, when I shall be called before the judgment seat of God." ¹⁵

This sense of conscientious duty in the strict application of the laws appeared at the very outset of his pontificate.

As everywhere else at that time, so at Rome the laws punished with death the crime of lese majesty. But, shortly after Paul V's elevation, the papal police discovered that a certain Piccinardi, a native of Cremona, had composed a violent pamphlet attacking Pope Clement VIII. In this pamphlet the deceased Pontiff was compared to Emperor Tiberius. The writing, not yet issued for the public, circulated secretly and stirred the spirit of disorder and rebellion. Paul V was pitiless for this criminal insult to authority and made an example of the culprit: Piccinardi was beheaded on the Sant' Angelo Bridge.

People trembled in the Pope's entourage and elsewhere. Most serious infractions of discipline had become frequent. The wise prescriptions of the Council of Trent about residence were far from being observed by the upper clergy or even by the members of the sacred college. The severe sanctions promulgated in the first chapter of the twenty-third session against non-residents, whatever their dignity or privilege, remained as a threat suspended over the head of the delinquents. The council had declared every non-resident cleric to be guilty of mortal sin and subject to various penalties, which included the application of his revenues to the poor of the locality and even went so far as to prescribe removal from office.¹⁶ Paul V, conscientious

¹⁵ Cf. Ranke, II, 118 (Bk. VI, chap. 11).

¹⁶ Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, pp. 165 f. [Tr.]

jurist that he was, could not forget these explicit texts or let them become a dead letter. The application of these provisions came promptly. On May 17, 1606, Cardinal Duperron wrote to Villeroy: "The Pope has just made known that his will is that all his cardinals who have bishoprics should return to them or resign them or send coadjutors to them." The Pope likewise recalled the canonical prescriptions forbidding Church revenues to be employed for personal use. On these two points he was unwilling to hear any excuse. Most of the cardinals who were in fault in the matter, returned to their residence; a few asked for a delay; others, so as not to leave Rome, resigned their benefices.

In that year 1606 the valiant Pontiff was requested to exercise his energy in three great external affairs: the strife against Venice, the persecution of Catholics in England, and the religious strife that would give rise in Germany to the Thirty Years' War.

War against Venice

Rich and proud Venice had often entered into conflict with the popes, and almost always as the champion of the rights of the state against the Church. Although excommunications were fulminated against it in 1483 by Sixtus VI and in 1509 by Julius II, it had never allowed the publication of the famous bull *In caena Domini* and, notwithstanding the protests of Clement VIII, had not feared to recognize Henry IV, still excommunicated, as King of France. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the proud republic seemed desirous of finding consolation for the decline of its commerce¹⁷ and of its artistic glory,¹⁸ by an increasing disdain toward the papacy. On January 10, 1603, the Venetian senate forbade the building

¹⁷ This decline was made almost beyond recovery on account of the fire which destroyed its arsenal in 1569 and on account of the treaty it was obliged to make with the Turks in 1573.

¹⁸ The last of these great painters, Il Tintoretto, died in 1594.

of churches, monasteries, and hospitals without its permission; two years later (March 26, 1605) it forbade the alienation of property possessed by laymen in favor of ecclesiastics. Shortly after this, the senate ordered the arrest of two ecclesiastics, Scipio Sarrafin, bishop of Vicenza, and Brandolino Valdemarino, abbot of Nerveze, and, in the face of explicit prescriptions of the canon law, recognized the jurisdiction of the secular courts to try them.¹⁹ But the Council of Trent (Sess. XXV, chap. 25) admonished "the emperor, kings, states, princes, and each and all, of whatever state or dignity they may be . . . that they should punish severely those who obstruct the liberty, immunity, and jurisdiction of the Church."²⁰ With the advice of Bellarmine and Baronius,²¹ Paul V called upon the Republic of Venice, under threat of censure in case of refusal, to revoke the ordinances and to hand over the two accused men to the apostolic nuncio. When the senate replied that it held only from God the power of making laws, the Pope assembled a consistory, in which forty cardinals (out of forty-one), after hearing Baronius' report of the facts, declared that compromise could not be employed in this affair without betraying the rights of the Church.

The Pope's line of conduct was clearly marked. On April 17, 1606, Leonardo, the doge of Venice, and all the members of the senate were declared excommunicated, and the Republic was placed under interdict, unless within twenty-four days the Pope's demands should receive satisfaction. The doge replied by an injunction to all the priests, secular and regular, to continue the exercise of public worship under pain of exile. The secular clergy, more closely dependent on the civil authority, partly submitted; but the Capuchins, the Theatines, and the Jesuits refused en masse to obey the orders of the senate and were expelled.

¹⁹ Muratori, XI, 14.

²⁰ Trent, Session XXV, chap. 20; Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 252. [Tr.]

²¹ Muratori, XI, 20.

The affair came near assuming the proportions of a European conflict as well as a religious schism. When the Pope, after the example of Sixtus IV and Julius II, intended to resort to temporal arms and to levy troops, King James I of England and also the Dutch threatened to send a fleet to the help of Venice; the Gallicans of France took the side of the Republic; in their eyes the cause of Venice was the cause of the independence of civil states in the face of papal tyranny.

In Venice itself the cause found a formidable champion in the person of a Servite religious, Fra Paolo Sarpi, who placed the resources of his prodigiously fertile and active mind at the service of the proud Republic and its ideas of independence, of which it was the standard bearer. Bayle, Bossuet, and Voltaire, basing their judgment on dubious accounts reported by Daniel and by Burnet, regarded Sarpi as a Protestant and even as an atheist. This view, however, is not well founded. The fiery Servite was, indeed, a radical predestinationist, almost as fully as Calvin. But his ideas on this point of doctrine, as also his impassioned attacks on the Roman Curia, may be explained by his embittered character, which was taciturn with an inclination to fatalism. Moreover, he had that indomitable pride of Venetian patriotism which the decline of the Republic did but exasperate in most of his fellow Venetians and which in him seemed to reach the paroxysm of irritability.

Sarpi was born at Venice, August 14, 1552. His rare sharpness of mind and his prodigious memory brought him early success. Received with favor by Sixtus V, enjoying relations with Bellarmine, in correspondence with the greatest scholars of the time—Casaubon, Saumaise, Vossius, Bacon, Grotius—a close friend of Galileo, who called him his master and father, Fra Paolo Sarpi, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, seemed to possess an encyclopedic mind and a powerful initiative. If he did not discover the circulation of the blood thirty years before Harvey, as has been claimed, he certainly

corrected and surpassed Franciscus Vieta in algebra, preceded Gilbert in the study of the declination and variations of the magnetic needle, was ahead of Hunter in the study of the effects of air forced into the lungs in case of apparent death, the first to remark the choroid in the eyes of all animals. His knowledge of ancient and Oriental languages was no less marvelous; his theological learning won him the title of theologian from the Duke of Mantua and a chair of theology in that city.

Such was the man whom the Venetian senate, in 1606, appointed canonist and theologian of the Republic. He was a figure that matched any of the greatest agitators whom the Church has encountered in the course of the ages. His first act was the publication, in 1606, of a *Treatise on the Interdict* in which, with incisive clearness and energy, he strove to demonstrate the evil consequences of papal intervention in the affairs of his country. His popularity was at once immense, and his influence in the affairs of the state almost boundless. He negotiated an alliance with the young republic of Holland, issued numerous memoirs on all the current questions of politics, religion, and administration; and these labors did not hinder him from writing his *History of the Council of Trent*, with all the bitterness of his irritated soul, and with a bias of disparagement that is undeniable, but also with a talent that placed him in the first rank of the historians of Italy, directly after Machiavelli. His friend Dominis published it at London in 1619, to the great scandal of the Church. But by that time the Venetian conflict had happily come to an end, thanks to the intervention of King Henry IV of France.

This intervention was one of the most marvelous tactics of Henry IV's delicate and subtle policy. The Duke of Savoy secretly offered his services to the Venetians; the dukes of Urbino and of Modena inclined to their side; the King of Spain, feeling that most of the states would rally to the cause of Venice as to the common cause of the princes against the encroach-

ments of Rome, painfully evaded, promising to send help to the Pope and at the same time urging the Venetian senators to stand by their rights; Henry IV then offered to act as mediator in the affair. The Pope saw himself in the presence of an almost inextricable situation; and the Venetians could not mistrust the King of France, whose coming to the throne they had acclaimed. Both accepted the arbitration proposal. To the great vexation of Spain, which was not consulted, Cardinal de Joyeuse, Henry's plenipotentiary envoy, succeeded in having a settlement accepted. The senate turned over to the ecclesiastical authority the two imprisoned clerics and declared that it withdrew the manifesto which it had published against the censures. But it obstinately refused to extend the benefit of the amnesty to the Jesuits, whom it considered the instigators of the resistance. On April 30, 1607, the Pope raised the excommunication and the interdict pronounced against Venice.²²

England

The affairs of England called for a firmer attitude on the part of Paul V. The question of the relations between the temporal and the spiritual was of such a sort that every ambiguity had to be removed at all costs.

From the origin of the schism, the English government had required from the Catholics the oath of supremacy, by which they acknowledged that the supreme authority, in things spiritual as well as temporal, belonged to the king alone.²³ After the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, King James I, wishing to condemn especially the opinion of the Catholics, who regarded his temporal authority as subordinate to that of the pope, had the Parliament adopt a newly worded oath.

²² On Paul V's conflict with the Republic of Venice, see Muratori, XI, 19 ff.

²³ For the complete formula, see Suarez, *Defensio fidei*, Bk. VI, prooemium; Bellarmine, *Responsio ad Apologiam*, praeambul. Cf. Lingard, *History of England*, Vol. V, passim.

All Catholics or persons suspected of being so were to be obliged, on the demand of the local authorities, to declare not only, as many Catholics had professed under Elizabeth, that the king cannot be deposed by the pope, but further that any contrary doctrine is impious and heretical. The oath was worded in part as follows :

I, A. B., do truly and sincerely acknowledge that our sovereign lord, King James, is lawful and rightful King. . . . And I do further swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes which be excommunicated by the pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or by any other whatsoever. And I do believe that the pope has no power to absolve me from this oath. . . . Also I do swear that notwithstanding any sentence of excommunication or deprivation I will bear allegiance and true faith to His Majesty.

At this juncture the Catholics of England, previously united, now were divided with regard to the lawfulness of taking the new oath of allegiance. Some, regarding the oath as simply a reproduction, in equivocal terms, of the oath of supremacy, condemned it; others, regarding it merely as a promise of obedience purely civil and as the condemnation of a dubious doctrine, maintained they could take the oath without scruple. By a brief (September 22, 1606), Paul V condemned the oath of allegiance as containing several things contrary to the faith and to salvation. This condemnation dismayed many of the faithful, because the penalties to be imposed on those who refused to take the oath were terrible: imprisonment for life and confiscation of property. The archpriest George Blackwell, a fearful old man, could not believe that the Pope's brief was authentic; in any event, he thought, it appeared to have been drawn up on the basis of a false report of the facts and certainly contained nothing more than a counsel. For these reasons Blackwell refused to promulgate the papal document. When Paul V received this news, he repeated his condemna-

tion in a second brief (September 22, 1607). Before this second letter reached England, the archpriest had submitted to the royal order. But in general the faithful adhered to the papal brief and many of them suffered persecution for refusing to take the condemned oath.

Germany

At the very time when the King of England was rekindling the persecution against the Catholics, the Pope's attention was drawn to Germany. On April 11, 1606, at Donauwörth, a mixed imperial city, where the Catholics had organized a procession, the Protestants were stirred up, dispersed the procession, and pillaged the church. Apparently the deed was not a matter of great importance; but it revealed to the eyes of prudent statesmen an ominous state of tension which could not be ignored. The crisis was both religious and political. Whereas the idea of the Empire seemed to many minds the sole means of safeguarding German hegemony, the oligarchy of princes was a fact that more and more obtruded itself. The Protestant princes, enriched by the spoils of Church property, clung to their autonomy more than ever; and the Catholic princes, several of whom had by vigorous efforts recovered religious unity in their domains, were unwilling to efface themselves before a master. The jurists now pleaded in their behalf; Sleidanus' book, *De statu religionis et reipublicae*, became their manual of civil law. Conflicts of a religious nature aggravated the situation. The clause of the Ecclesiastical Reservation, which was stipulated at the peace of Augsburg, by virtue of which every holder of a benefice passing over to the Lutheran religion must abandon his possessions, was repeatedly violated by the Protestants.²⁴ The irritation was especially extreme among the Calvinists. They were already numerous in Germany, and experienced all

²⁴ Cf. Alzog, *Church History*, III, 447.

the hardships of the treaties without benefiting by any advantage; for all the favorable clauses had been issued in favor of the Lutherans. In them the hatred for the Empire was united to hatred for the Catholic Church. The agitation that continually increased from 1550 to 1605 was principally their work.

Emperor Rudolf was not unaware of the gravity of the danger and decided upon an energetic repression. After putting the city of Donauwörth under the ban of the Empire, he entrusted the execution of the sentence to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. This prince, with a vigorous and penetrating mind, was an excellent administrator and tireless warrior, full of grandiose political schemes.²⁵ He was the very person to take in hand the direction of the Catholic forces in Germany. At his side Archduke Ferdinand, whose unconquerable strength of soul was founded on a deep faith, the aged Bishop of Würzburg, who had made the first attempt of counterreformation, and the prince elector of Mainz, whose influence was considerable throughout the Empire, were the chiefs of a group that the political events had spontaneously formed and that seemed ready to take up the defense of the Church against the undertakings of the Protestants.

All Europe, as evidenced by the diplomatic documents of this period, sensed the approaching outbreak of a great conflict. The seizing of Donauwörth by Maximilian was soon followed by the formation at Alhausen (1608) of the Protestant Union, which rallied the Protestant princes under the direction of the elector Palatine Frederick. This serious prince, somewhat melancholy and proud, but filled with lofty thoughts, possessed enough self-control to be on guard against the lax habits of life then common among the German nobles.²⁶ The Catholic princes replied by the formation (1609) of the League of

²⁵ Ranke, II, 213.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

Würzburg, with Maximilian of Bavaria at its head. War was imminent. The assassination of Henry IV, on whom the Emperor's enemies counted for support, disconcerted them. But help soon came to them from Bohemia and revived their courage.

Protestantism, having found in Bohemia the support of the Utraquists, made notable progress there. From Maximilian II it obtained freedom of worship and from Rudolf II (1606) a "Letter of Majesty," or Royal Charter, granting to all the nobility, knighthood, and royal cities that had embraced the Reform, the same rights as to the Catholics. An imperial rescript conceded to them authorization to erect Protestant churches on a Catholic soil. These concessions resulted merely in making the Czechs prouder and more presumptuous. The political state of Bohemia likewise favored the spirit of anarchy; a feudal oligarchy, as harsh to its inferiors as it was arrogant toward the head of the Empire, had reduced the peasants to serfdom: irritation was widespread and cohesion nowhere. In 1617 and 1618 the vassals of the Archbishop of Prague, at Hrob (Klostergrab), and the people of the city of Broumov (Braunau), despite the opposition of their lords, having built temples, the Emperor ordered them to be closed, as the imperial privilege applied only to the lords and not to their vassals. The Czech Protestants protested, appealing to the regulations of their old national public law, which, they said, regarded ecclesiastical property as national domains. Rudolf's reply was threatening. Thereupon the death of the two governors of the city of Prague, Martinitz and Slavata, to whom the Emperor's reply was imputed, was decided on. On May 23, 1618, some conspirators, meeting them in the old Hradschin castle, which raises its threatening silhouette on the left bank of the Moldau, hurled them out of the windows from a height of eighty feet. This incident is usually referred to as The Defenestration of Prague. The Thirty Years' War had begun.

Emperor Matthias, a weak and incapable ruler, died March 20, 1619, and Ferdinand, Duke of Styria, became emperor, taking the name of Ferdinand II. This change accentuated the religious nature of this war. When nineteen years old, Ferdinand, a devout Catholic, had promised, at the feet of Our Lady of Loreto, that he would ever be the champion of Catholicism against heresy.²⁷ Already he had banished the heretics from his duchy. The Evangelical Union came out against the new Emperor, and the Catholic forces gradually rallied about Ferdinand. Philip III sent him assistance in men and money; King John Sigismund III of Poland placed at his disposal several thousand cossacks. Pope Paul V was asked to intervene, but he did nothing more than make vague promises.²⁸

The rebellious Bohemians were not united and were ill served by an army of serfs that marched without enthusiasm under the leadership of their lords. On November 8, 1620, they were crushed at the battle of the White Hill. Paul V had the time to thank God for these first successes. But during the procession that took place to celebrate the victory of the Catholics, the Pope suffered a stroke of apoplexy. Thus began the illness which in a short time carried him off.

Paul V's Reform Efforts

International political events did not wholly occupy the thought and zeal of this Pontiff. The historian Bzovius, a contemporary and the continuer of Platina, who wrote shortly after the Pope's death, has left us an account of his important reforms.

In spite of the great efforts of Sixtus V, security left much to be desired in the city of Rome and in the Roman Campagna. This condition resulted from the instability of the population,

²⁷ Hurter, *Geschichte Kaiser Ferdinands II und seiner Eltern*, II, 229; III, 436.

²⁸ Gindely, *History of the Thirty Years' War*, I, 193.

that gravitated almost entirely about the great families and followed their fortune. A multitude of hired men, clients, vagabonds, condottieri, and *bravi* were perpetually going and coming and thus constituted a ceaseless danger. Paul V endeavored to relieve the most urgent evil conditions and especially to establish the families on the soil. He built public granaries, granted special privileges to farm laborers as being foster fathers of the land, and made provision for the safety of citizens by the exercise of strict justice in dealing with murderers and highway robbers, who trembled and took to flight at the very mention of the name of Paul, as owls hide from the light of the sun. Paul V, wishing to apply the remedy to the root of the evil, strove particularly to promote the catechetical instruction of the faithful.²⁹ Thinking that the example of ecclesiastics would be the most effective sermon, he watched over the observance of the regulations issued by the Council of Trent about the life of clerics; he gave precise instructions to the clergy of Rome,³⁰ and chose bishops among the most exemplary religious.³¹ By canonizing St. Charles Borromeo and beatifying Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Philip Neri, and Theresa, he proposed for the worship and imitation of the faithful the most admirable examples of holiness.

Paul V was also a patron of learning and the arts. He enriched the Vatican Library with many volumes, decreed that in all religious orders there should be established chairs of Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, and in each university a chair of Arabic. As we read in a contemporary account, "this great Pope has leveled small hills throughout the city, opened broad views wherever there were winding streets, opened big public squares, which have been made more magnificent by new buildings erected around them. The chapels he built had the air of basili-

²⁹ Bzovius, *Paulus Quintus*, chap. 24, p. 31.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 22, p. 29.

³¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 21.

cas, the basilicas were like temples, and the temples resembled mountains of marble.”³²

But none of the works of art executed under his inspiration aroused more enthusiasm among his contemporaries than the completion of St. Peter's basilica. Paul V, who was fond of imposing splendor, was not altogether pleased that the Vatican basilica should not have the form of a Latin cross and should not have the length of the earlier basilica. But such a change would depart from the harmony planned by Bramante and by Michelangelo. The architect Carlo Maderna assumed this formidable task. The proportions of the edifice were excessively increased. An enormous façade, which was like a triumphal arch and also like a palace wall, hid the superbly soaring cupola and destroyed the charming reminders of the Middle Ages which the first artists wished to preserve. But, all in all, the temple gave the impression of colossal greatness, and Paul V was able proudly to write his name, in gigantic letters, on the front of the great temple of Christendom; the work on which the thought and effort of the Renaissance were concentrated, was achieved.³³

A passion for splendor was the weakness of this great Pope. Unfortunately he did not limit himself to the lavish bestowal of this magnificence to the churches and monuments of the city; he loaded the residences of his nephews with them: precious stones, costly furniture, magnificent coaches, rich plate, were amassed in the villa Borghese and villa Rospigliosi, built by his nephew, the ostentatious Scipio.³⁴ Thanks to the Pope's favors, the Borghese family became the richest and most powerful family of Rome. Paul V died suddenly on January 28, 1621. He had time to recommend himself to God and, with sentiments of fervent piety, he ended a pontificate which, notwithstanding some

³² *Vita Pauli V compendiose scripta*, manuscript in the Barberini library; cf. Ranke, II, 380.

³³ Eugène Pératé, *Le Vatican, les papes et la civilisation*, p. 616.

³⁴ Ranke, II, 338.

blemishes, was truly glorious for the Church and for civilization.

Gregory XV (1621-23)

In the conclave following Paul V's death, the choice of the sacred college, after inclining to Cardinal Bellarmine, who once more declined the papal office, and then to Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, who likewise declined the honor of the tiara, was fixed on Cardinal Alessandro Ludovisi, archbishop of Bologna, former papal nuncio in Savoy, who took the name of Gregory XV (February 9, 1621). He was a sickly old man, of puny appearance, pale face, lackluster eyes. But he excelled in the study of law; his nunciature in Switzerland had revealed his prudence and skill. Introduced to state affairs by the late Pope and enjoying bonds of friendship with the Borghesi, he was prepared to continue the external policy of Paul V, which consisted in favoring the Catholic program of Austria without giving offense to France. Being much attached to the religious orders and in particular to the Society of Jesus, which had educated him, he might be expected to make use of this new power of regeneration in the government of the Church. Moreover, it was known that he would have at his side a twenty-five-year-old young man, his nephew Ludovico Ludovisi, who, even according to the admission of his enemies, had remarkable talent for the management of affairs. He was one of those active and shrewd spirits that can always find an expedient in the most complex difficulties; he also possessed that calm courage which advances over obstacles, as soon as the probability of their being overcome has been foreseen. It was thought that the nephew's activity would supply for the uncle's weakness, and that the old man's wisdom would check the imprudences of the young man.

If such were the calculations of the members of the conclave when they abandoned the candidature of a Bellarmine and of

a Frederick Borromeo, to elect the aged Archbishop of Bologna, the event fully justified them. The first concern of the new Pope was to profit by the situation which had just come to the Church through the victory of the Catholics at White Hill. One of the first instructions issued by him says that he intends to apply all his thoughts to drawing the greatest possible advantage from this fortunate change and from the recent victory. The occasion for realizing this project soon came to him. Ferdinand II had promised to confer the Palatinate on Duke Maximilian of Bavaria in case of the success of the campaign they had undertaken. Now, from the Catholic point of view, the realization of that promise possessed a capital importance. The situation of Germany was such that the Catholic votes and the Protestant votes balanced each other in the council of the prince electors. With the Palatinate falling to the Duke of Bavaria, the majority of votes would be with the Catholics. But certain difficulties had to be overcome: to persuade the King of Spain to keep his promise, to forestall the opposition of the European rulers, to lead the Emperor to guarantee this important transfer by his supreme authority. Long negotiations, in which the Roman court was admirably served by an able Capuchin, Father Hyacinth, finally (February 25, 1623) conferred the electorate of the Palatinate on Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, but by way of a purely personal title, with the rights of the natural heirs of the Palatinate reserved for the future. The old Pope, upon receiving this news, joyously exclaimed: "The daughter of Sion can now shake from her head the ashes of mourning and put on her festal garments." ³⁵

³⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 237 (Bk. VII, chap. 4). One of the Emperor's first acts was to order the Protestants, by a decree dated March 26, 1627, to embrace the Catholic faith or to move out of the country within four weeks. "These measures are not in accord with the political principles followed in our time, but they were in conformity with those admitted everywhere in the seventeenth century. If we consider that religious doctrine was, for the vast majority of men, the sole principle of morality and law, and that a single change in doctrine produced a change in the civil and political life, we can hardly deny that the governments of that time had a right to

But, while the title of Defender of the Church was being consolidated on the head of the Emperor, care must be taken not to abandon the relations of good understanding with France. King Louis XIII had sent to the Pope a request to have the see of Paris made a metropolitan see. That diocese of Paris which, it was said, ever since its first bishop, St. Denis, had been governed by 107 bishops, nine of whom received the purple and seven were venerated as saints, that venerable chapter, which had seen six of its members mount the throne of St. Peter,³⁶ surely deserved the honors attached to the archiepiscopal title. Gregory XV conceded the justice of this request and placed under the metropolitan of Paris the sees of Orléans, Meaux, and Chartres.

On September 5 of that same year he gave a new pledge of benevolence to the court of France by raising to the cardinalate the almoner of Marie de Medici, Armand de Richelieu, a young prelate barely thirty-six years old, who would soon become the master of the affairs of France and almost the arbiter of the affairs of Europe.

More important events served to draw the papacy and the kingdom of France closer together. Sultan Osman II perished tragically on May 20, 1622, assassinated by his janissaries at the Seven Tours Castle, and the reign of Mustafa I began as a time of frightful anarchy. Gregory, who had started negotiations with Osman with a view to obtaining the protection of the Catholic missions in Barbary, feared that he would see the results of all his efforts engulfed in the revolution. But the diplomatic relations between the Porte and France were at that time very satisfactory. Since the time of Francis I, the kings

exercise constraint in this matter" (Charvériat, *Histoire de la Guerre de Trente ans*, p. 502).

³⁶ In a bull of December 18, 1296, Boniface VIII declares that he had received the office of canon in the Church of Paris. The Paris necrology mentions, as having belonged to the Paris chapter, five other popes: Gregory IX, Adrian V, Innocent VI, Gregory XI, and Clement VII.

of France, perhaps to soothe their conscience for that entente with Islam for which they had often been blamed by Rome, employed for the protection of Christendom the alliance that seemed to repudiate it. Since 1535, by conventions which the Ottoman pride was pleased to call the "capitulations" of France, but by which it was Islam that capitulated, the French influence became solidly established in the Orient. The Pope did not hesitate to have recourse to it. Reminding the son of Henry IV that recently, in the regencies of Barbary, notably at Algiers, certain protégés of the King of France owed their safety only to the intervention of religious sent by Paul V, he asked Louis XIII to render to the Holy See favor for favor. The disturbances that embroiled with bloodshed the reign of Sultan Murad IV (1623-40) did not allow the intervention of the King of France to produce all the desirable results, but the closer accord between France and the Holy See was acquired.

To serve the cause of the Church by opposing the hegemony of the house of Austria was the aim of the French policy.³⁷ To identify the Catholic interests with its own interests seemed to be the ambition of the house of Habsburg. The two rival claims clashed in Italy in the Milanese valley. In 1621 the Catholics of Valtellina, conquered by the Protestant Grisons and persecuted in the exercise of their faith, had risen up with violence against their oppressors, paying them massacre for massacre, blood for blood. But Valtellina, freed from the Grisons, fell back under the Spanish domination. This was the restoration of the terrible strategic line that permitted the Habsburgs to establish communication between their Austrian possessions and the Spanish possessions in Italy. France had good reason to fear. The Treaty of Madrid, signed by Philip III and Basompierre (April 15, 1621), restoring Valtellina to the Grisons

³⁷ According to Richelieu, to let the power of the house of Austria develop, would be "to put chains on Christianity, to make the pope a chaplain of the Habsburgs." Cf. Richelieu, *Mémoires*, II, 17, 66, 129, 183.

while requiring of the latter certain guaranties and conditions hard to enforce, did not solve the difficulty. It then appeared that no one but Gregory XV could solve the conflict by arbitration. The Pope, considering that the peace of the world depended on his intervention, accepted the proposal made to him. Everything was ripe for a final arrangement, with the independence of Valtellina as a basis, when Gregory's death broke off the parleys.³⁸

The Pope's Reform Efforts

Diplomatic negotiations did not form the most important work of the short and fruitful pontificate of Gregory XV. His constitution (November 15, 1621) on the election of the pope, another (June 22, 1622) on the Congregation of Propaganda and the various measures it takes to revive the piety of Christian souls, make his reign one of the most significant stages in the life of the Church.

We know how the long efforts of the popes to free the Roman Church from imperial domination led, in the middle of the eleventh century, to Nicholas II's regulation, reserving the initiative in the election of the pope to the seven cardinal bishops. The voting, properly so called, was reserved to the cardinal clerics. But the regulation still required the consent of the clergy and of the people and even the approval of the emperor, to whom the Holy See conceded this right. At the end of the twelfth century, the Third Council of the Lateran took a further step by suppressing the intervention of the clergy, of the people, and of the emperor, and by declaring, as requisite and sufficient for a papal election, a two-thirds vote of the cardinals. The unhappy attempts to impose certain compromises on the popes of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, had shown the need of a still stricter electoral legislation and one

³⁸ Ranke, II, 262 (Bk. VII, chap. 3).

more precise. Gregory XV, who from his juridical habits was familiar with these questions, thought the moment had come to promulgate this legislation.

His bull (November 15, 1621), which is still in force in its general dispositions, clearly distinguishes between three modes of papal election: election by quasi-inspiration, adoration, or acclamation; election by compromise; and election by ballot and *accessus*.

The election by acclamation takes place when the cardinals, as though under the impulse of a supernatural inspiration, name the pope spontaneously. Thus St. Gregory VII was named at the end of the eleventh century. Gregory XV sanctions this mode, but at the same time confines it to rigorous conditions. Thus any previous agreement would render the election null, and the acclamation must be made with absolute unanimity of the votes; a single opposition would invalidate it. The election by compromise takes place when the cardinals, to end insurmountable difficulties, agree to refer it to the decision of one or more of their number. Several popes—Clement IV, Gregory X, Clement V, and John XXII—had been elected by compromise. Gregory XV regulated that, for the method of compromise to be valid, all the cardinals must consent to it: the veto of a single one would render the election null. The nomination by ballot and by *accessus* is the most ordinary. Two-thirds of the votes, plus one, of the members present is required for validity. The elector must write on his ballot his own name and that of the cardinal for whom he is voting; before depositing the ballot in the chalice destined for this purpose, he must swear that he had designated only him who has seemed to him the best. The cardinal who does not observe these laws will be excommunicated. The *accessus* takes place when, if the first ballot fails to give any candidate the two-thirds vote, they will proceed to a second, by which the electors can rally to one of the candidates for whom they did not vote at first, and thus

complete the necessary number of votes. The particular rules of the *accessus* differ but little from those of the first ballot, the ballot strictly so called. A constitution (March 22, 1622) determined more precisely the details of the ceremonial to be observed.

The great development of the foreign missions required an organization and a centralization of their labors. Pope Gregory XIII had already ordered that a congregation of cardinals be charged with the general direction of the missions of the Orient. But this institution was neither firmly established nor provided with funds sufficient for its task. Apostolic souls were distressed. A Capuchin, Girolamo da Narni, voiced their sentiments. His fiery eloquence, his tone of conviction, won for him not only general popularity, but also the favor of Cardinal Ludovisi, the Pope's nephew, and of Cardinal Bellarmine. Gregory XV, enlightened and supported by the advice of these three ecclesiastics, decided to enlarge and consolidate the institution of Gregory XIII. His constitution (June 22, 1622) established a congregation *De propaganda fide*, composed of eighteen cardinals and several prelates, to whom he assigned the duty of directing the Catholic missions in all parts of the world. This congregation should meet at least once a month in the presence of the Pope. Gregory allotted to it the necessary funds; Cardinal Ludovisi came to its aid with his own resources, and Christian charity, stirred by Girolamo's preaching, was generous toward this new institution, which, soon encouraged and developed by Urban VIII, thereafter continued to prosper.

By various acts and measures, the holy Pontiff strove to reanimate piety in men's souls. His own example was an edification. This feeble old man, who suffered extreme pain from a disease of the liver, but did not relinquish the duties of his office and his exercise of piety, offered his entourage an example of Christian patience. His approval and encouragement of sev-

eral religious congregations, such as the Clerks Regular of the Pious Schools, founded by Joseph Calasanz, that of the Pious Missioners, instituted by Carlo Caraffa, and the Benedictine congregation of St. Maur, extended afar the effects of his zeal. But his deep faith made him seek especially the help of the saints. Having been educated by the fathers of the Society of Jesus, he found a particular joy in raising to the altars St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier, "those two great saints," as the bull says, "that God raised up at the moment when new worlds, peopled with infidels, had just been discovered, and when heresy was ravaging the Old World, to labor for the conversion of the heretics and pagans." He also canonized St. Isidore the Laborer, St. Philip Neri, and St. Theresa; and the veneration of these saints, who would be reckoned among the greatest of the Church, exercised an effective influence on the renewal of apostolic zeal which marked the beginning of the seventeenth century. The extension to the Universal Church of the feast of St. Bruno, glorious patron of the contemplative life, seemed to crown his efforts by giving the Church new patrons.

But the pious Pontiff did more than that. To him the Christian world owes the remarkable devotions which took place at that epoch to St. Anne, St. Joseph, and the Blessed Virgin. Doubtless he thought that, after the painful troubles that had torn the Church, nothing could be more beneficial for the great Christian family than to turn its eyes to those calm and grave figures that had watched over the cradle of Christianity. St. Anne was venerated in several individual Churches; Gregory wished that henceforth this veneration should extend to the whole world. In Spain, the Netherlands, and Hungary, the piety of the faithful had spread the veneration of St. Joseph, who was invoked under the title of Preserver of Peace;³⁹ Gregory fixed his feast on March 19 for the universal Church. At this

³⁹ Bollandists, March, III, 9.

same time a great movement of devotion led the faithful to affirm more than ever the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin. The discussions of the theologians on this point were more and more overwhelmed by the acclamations of popular piety. "Every time a preacher, led on by sentiments contrary to the common opinion, so far forgot himself as to oppose or rail at the doctrine of the immaculate conception, his hearers rose up against him. The indignation was so manifest that the fact, carried to Rome, provoked the intervention and the censure of the Pope." ⁴⁰ Gregory XV, renewing and amplifying a decree of Paul V, declared in a decree of May 24, 1622, not only a prohibition of public denials and discussions of the common belief, but even forbade that the doctrine should be called into question in private gatherings. "Was this not a recognition, though not explicit, of the mystery, proclaimed 230 years before the definition?" ⁴¹

The winter of 1622-23 had increased the fatigues of the pious Pontiff. From now on his illness was continual. On July 7, 1623, being unable to celebrate the holy Sacrifice, he had two Masses said in his presence, and received extreme unction. The next day, realizing the imminence of the danger, he said to his cardinals: "I am leaving with one consolation: you will have no difficulty in choosing among you someone more worthy and more capable than I am; he will have some errors to correct in the administration of the Christian commonwealth."

Urban VIII (1623-44)

The one whom they elected was Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, who took the name of Urban VIII.

Descended from one of the most ancient and celebrated families of Florence, he had been educated, like Gregory XV, by

⁴⁰ Dubosc de Pesquidoux, *L'Immaculée Conception, histoire d'un dogme*, I, 435.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

the Jesuits, was early distinguished as a literateur and poet by the publication of several highly esteemed literary works,⁴² and, under Clement VIII, Paul V, and Gregory XV, mounted through all the grades of the Roman Curia. His zeal for the repression of abuses was well known, and no one was surprised to see him, at the outset of his pontificate, put his hand courageously to the work of reform. With much energy he repressed the public veneration which the citizens of Venice paid to the memory of Fra Paolo Sarpi, regulated the conditions of stability of religious in their respective orders, and published a decree regulating the canonical visitations to be made in all the churches, monasteries, and chapels of the city of Rome, for the correction of the abuses which time and human weakness had allowed to creep in. He remarked that, if it is urgent to cure the ills of the Christian commonwealth wherever they are found, he must think first of all of the ills of the city of Rome. He approved the Order of the Visitation, canonized Aloysius Gonzaga, beatified Francis Borgia, Cajetan of Thiene, Felix of Cantalice, and Andrew Avellino.

But soon some striking differences were remarked between him and his predecessors. Whereas ordinarily Clement VIII used to read the books of St. Bernard, and Paul V and Gregory XV were occupied in the study of the canonists and lawyers, on the desk of Urban VIII were seen studies of fortification. This contrast was not the only one. In the conflict that was involving all Europe, Clement VIII, Paul V, and Gregory XV turned readily to the king of Spain and to the emperor; Urban VIII, who under Clement VIII and Paul V, during two nunciatures that he filled at the court of France, had, so it was said, won the favor of Henry IV, seemed to incline rather toward "the Most Christian King." Lastly with Clement VIII,

⁴² Urban VIII's Latin poems were printed at Paris in 1642 under the title, *Maffei Barberini poemata*. His Italian poems appeared at Rome in 1640. In both cases, the poems generally have religious subjects.

Paul V, and Gregory XV, concern over the spiritual reform and with the struggle against Protestantism took the first place; Urban VIII, coming to power in the midst of the Thirty Years' War, at a time when the religious questions were closely mingled with political questions of supreme interest, judged that the Holy See ought especially to take a stand in this turmoil of peoples, or at least to fortify itself against the danger of a formidable blow. So, even while he was publishing bulls to approve religious orders and to canonize saints, he strengthened the frontiers of his states with fortresses. He said: "My predecessors erected monuments of marble; I am going to build monuments of iron." An arms factory was established at Tivoli; the grounds adjoining the Vatican Library were set aside for the construction of an arsenal; at Rome, the Castle Sant' Angelo was fortified, provided with munitions of war and with food, as though the enemy were at the city gates; on the frontiers of the district of Bologna a new fort rose up, which was named Fort Urban; extensive works were started at Civitavecchia, the free port of the Papal States.

The Valtellina affair obliged Urban VIII to decide upon a definite political orientation. At first he was hesitant. He was alarmed at the demand of the Spaniards, that Valtellina be made a strategic road of communication with the Austrians; but his faith was grieved at seeing the Catholic people of Valtellina under the rule of the Protestant Grisons. This latter consideration decided him. When the court of France asked him to evacuate the forts which the papal troops were occupying in that district since Gregory XV, he refused; the Marquis of Bagni, commanding officer of the forces of the Holy See, yielded only to force, at the time when the Marquis of Cœuvres invaded Valtellina (January, 1625) in the name of Louis XIII. Gregory XV, however, did not favor the Austrian policy. In that same year 1625 Cardinal Borgia, in the name of the King of Spain, complained of the rigidity of the Pope, from whom,

he said, no concession could be obtained in the Valtellina affair.⁴³ Following these events, long negotiations which the Pope entered upon with the court of Paris seem to have contributed at last to determine his attitude.

In these parleys, Urban VIII found himself confronted by Cardinal Richelieu.

At that time three great ministers seemed to hold in their hands the destinies of Europe: Buckingham in England, Olivares in Spain, and Richelieu in France. The incapacity of the first and the early disgrace of the second soon left Louis XIII's minister alone dominating the field. Although at that time the expansive force of the religious element was on the downward path and although the world was more and more given over to the domination of purely political considerations,⁴⁴ nobody better represented this new tendency than Cardinal Richelieu. No one can deny the importance of the services rendered by this great statesman: partly to his intelligent and energetic patronage France owes the movement of religious renaissance and literary revival which marked the first half of the seventeenth century. Notwithstanding whatever his enemies have said, his private life was irreproachable and his Catholic faith was sincere.

His program of government deserves unreserved approval, as he set it forth to the King upon assuming power: to ruin the Huguenot party, to humble the pride of the great, and to enhance the name of France among the nations. If the desire to oppose the house of Habsburg dominated his foreign policy too exclusively, that was undoubtedly because, along with Father Joseph, his confidant, he judged that, since "France was the only one able to successfully lead the crusade against the infidels and the heretics, the defeat of the house of Austria would promote the cause of Catholicism. But, in fact, the Car-

⁴³ Ranke, II, 293 (Bk. VII, chap. 4).

⁴⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 319.

dinal's plan led him to political procedures which morality does not approve, to political combinations from which the Protestant party issued powerfully strengthened. Richelieu used to say that "the future is more to be considered than the present"; but the truth is that his policy sacrificed the future to concern for present greatness and prosperity. We may rightly think that both the greatness of France and the triumph of Catholicism would have been assured by carrying out the plan which Cardinal de Berulle proposed to him: to maintain the house of Austria within limits by a league of the Catholic states and to mistrust the Protestants whether within France or outside.

The protestations of orthodoxy by Richelieu, who then openly showed his opposition to the doctrines of Richer, may have been intended to remove the last scruples of the Pope. At any rate, from 1625 onward we see Urban VIII progressively involved in the Cardinal's policy. In 1625 he favored the marriage of Henrietta of France, sister of Louis XIII, to the King of England, Charles I, thus bringing about the rupture of a projected marriage of this prince with the infanta of Spain. He rejoiced to see at Mantua, by the marriage of the young princess to the Duke of Nevers, a prince independent of the house of Austria. Dreading the extension of the Austro-Spanish influence in Italy, he urged France to war. He wrote: "Let the King send an armed force into war without waiting for the taking of La Rochelle; the siege of this bulwark of the Huguenots is not more agreeable to God than an intervention in the Mantua affair."⁴⁵ Apparently, in the circumstances, he was not able to join more clearly in Richelieu's policy. Such was Urban's attitude throughout the Thirty Years' War. The leaders of the Catholic army complained of it bitterly. A final act of the Pope exasperated them.

In the time of Gregory XV (March 5, 1621) Emperor Ferdinand II published an Edict of Restitution, by virtue of which

⁴⁵ Siri, *Mémoire*, VI, 478; cf. Ranke, II, 295.

the Protestants were obliged to restore all Church property taken by them from the Catholics since the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555); Pope Urban refused to take a hand in executing the edict. This measure, which involved a third of the Protestant possessions, seemed to him imprudent and likely to lead to terrible reprisals.⁴⁶ The irritation of the allied Catholics was at its height. General Wallenstein spoke of undertaking an expedition against Rome. On their side, the Protestants appealed to the ambitious King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus. We know how that terrible monarch, landing the next year (1630) in Pomerania with a force of 40,000 men, rallied about him all the Protestant rulers, saw everything yield to his might, and, taking under his particular protection the Protestant ministers and everywhere encouraging the religion of the Confession of Augsburg, had Lutheran preaching follow in the wake of his victorious troops. No basis exists for believing that Urban VIII in any way favored the undertakings of the Protestant King. But the malignity of his enemies supposed such was the case. The Emperor complained loudly. The members of the Roman court and the people of Rome were murmuring. They said: "The King of Sweden has more zeal for his Lutheranism than our Holy Father has for the Catholic Church, which alone can save us." Cardinal Borgia came before the Pope to express a solemn protest. Urban merely replied that the war against the Habsburgs was not a war of religion.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus the Swedish army, aided by the French, continued the war for sixteen years more. The belligerent nations were equally exhausted. The early death of the King of Sweden had brought his vast projects to nothing; Emperor Ferdinand dropped his Edict of Restitution. People were longing for peace. The Pope sought to separate the cause of the papacy from the temporal interests contested

⁴⁶ Cf. Charvériat, *op. cit.*, I, 461.

between the various Powers and to oppose whatever might be concluded against the Edict of Restitution.⁴⁷ The Jesuits seconded him in this endeavor ;⁴⁸ but the papacy had lost much of its influence. The Emperor, galled at not having been supported by Urban VIII, declared himself the champion of the Church in spite of the Pope. On the other hand, the good relations with France had changed. Richelieu having persisted, notwithstanding the Pope, in confiding to Cardinal Lavalette the command of an army directed against Austria, the Pope refused to the minister of Louis XIII the confirmation of his title of abbot of Cîteaux and recalled his nuncio (Mazarin) to Rome. On its side, the Republic of Venice, offended because, in a document, the Holy See had not treated it as the equal of kings, continued its ill will toward Rome.⁴⁹ The situation was not less strained in the relations with Portugal, as Urban had refused to recognize the new king, of the house of Braganza, for fear of rousing the indignation of the house of Spain against him.

Lastly, the excessive favors that the Pope bestowed on his nephews had alienated from him the good will of many at Rome. The insolence and greed of some members of his family partly explained this change. People said: "What the barbarians did not do, the Barberini accomplish" (*Quod non fecerunt Barbari, faciunt Barberini*). The bull published by the Pope (March 6, 1644) to renew against Jansen the condemnations already issued by St. Pius V and Gregory XIII against Baius, aroused against him the wrath of a sect already powerful. The Pope's character, naturally selfish and dominating,⁵⁰ was embittered at sight of the decline of his authority. In fact,

⁴⁷ A bull of Urban VIII reminds princes and bishops of their strict duty to defend the Church.

⁴⁸ Letter of Cardinal Barberini to the nuncio Baglione (March 17, 1635); cf. Ranke, II, 313.

⁴⁹ The Pope granted the cardinals the title of Eminence and ordered that henceforth they should be thus addressed by all, except by kings. Venice was not excepted.

⁵⁰ Cf. Ranke, II, 290-92.

observation, in this book explained the apparent movement of the stars, the precession of the equinoxes, and most of the phenomena that had determined the complicated system of Ptolemy, by the hypothesis of the rotation of the earth on itself and a suitable movement of its axis. Copernicus' theory, which contradicted both the traditional data of science and the current explanations of the Bible, found no more favor with the Protestants than with the Catholics. Luther said: "This fool Copernicus wants to upset all astronomy; but the Scripture says that Josue stopped the sun, and not the earth." Rome, however, had not condemned the new theory.⁵³ Meanwhile, in 1613, an Italian work appeared, entitled *Istoria e dimostrazioni intorno alle macchie solari*, in which the system of Copernicus was openly and warmly defended. Its author, the Pisan Galileo Galilei, already known by several scientific works, counted friends in the entourage of Pope Paul V, who held him in high esteem; and Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, the future Urban VIII, wrote to him (June 5, 1612), saying: "I shall read your dissertation with great pleasure, to admire the fruits of your rare intelligence as also to confirm my opinion which accords with yours." The opposition sprang especially from the ranks of the Aristotelians, for whom all the utterances of the Stagirite constituted the final and immutable word of science, and from certain exegetes who, in spite of the warning of Baronius,⁵⁴ persisted in seeking scientific teaching in the Bible. Did not Aristotle teach that the earth is the immobile center of the world? And did not the same theory rest on the evidence of the Book of Josue?

In 1614 the storm burst in Florence, in the church of Santa Maria Novella, on the fourth Sunday of Advent. Father Thomas Caccini of the Friars Preachers, taking for his text

⁵³ Cf. J. Czinski, *Copernik et ses travaux*.

⁵⁴ Cardinal Baronius said: "The purpose of Holy Scripture is to teach us **how** to go to heaven, not how heaven goes."

verses 11 and 13 of the tenth chapter of Josue, combined with verse 11 of the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, flaminated against the pride of the astronomers and mathematicians, and did not hesitate to mention Galileo by name. Without regard for the sacred text that he was commenting on, he cried out: "Ye men of Galilee, why stand you looking up to heaven?"

The celebrated astronomer of Pisa is represented by all the contemporary historians as a passionate, vehement man, having no hesitancy in opposing the current opinions. In his letters he even spoke of "the funeral, or rather the last judgment, of philosophy."⁵⁵ He wrote (December 21, 1613): "The Holy Scripture can neither deceive nor be deceived; but those who explain it can be deceived in many ways. . . . In the questions of the natural sciences the Holy Scripture ought to occupy the last place. . . . Furthermore, can an opinion be heretical that does not concern the salvation of the soul?" The aged Giovanni Battista Ciampoli, secretary of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, advised him to be prudent, not to go beyond the limits of physics and mathematics, because the theologians claimed that to them alone belonged the office of clarifying the Scriptures. Galileo, becoming increasingly bold, exclaimed: "That God, who has endowed us with senses, speech, and intelligence, has willed, rejecting the use of these means, to give us by another means the knowledge that we can acquire with their aid, is something that seems to me not necessary to believe."

The imprudent astronomer, cleverly drawn by his adversaries on to the terrain of theology, fell into their trap. After that, the question of the motion of the earth was merely accessory. "The question at issue became whether a layman without commission should be allowed to set limits to biblical exegesis. Precisely by abusing the private interpretation of the Scripture the Protestants had denied the sacraments and transubstantiation. Calvin had been dead less than fifty years, Theodore

⁵⁵ Letter of Galileo to Prince Cesi (May 12, 1612).

of Beza had ceased writing only ten years before. The peril seemed imminent. People were walking in the glare of the conflagration that had set fire to Europe. The Pope feared committing the Church to a path whose end he did not perceive."⁵⁶ The Pope's duty to intervene seemed the greater since Galileo himself avowed that he was not advancing an irrefutable argument in favor of his system.⁵⁷ A dubious theory could not authorize any change. Bellarmine wrote wisely that, in doubt, a person ought not abandon the interpretation of Scripture given by the Fathers.⁵⁸ We read in a contemporary letter: "Who does not see the danger for the Church if everybody were permitted to explain the Scripture in his own way, contrary to the view of the Fathers and of St. Thomas and to trample underfoot the philosophy of Aristotle, who is so useful an auxiliary of Scholastic theology?"⁵⁹

On February 19, 1616, the consulting theologians of the Holy Office gave their decision about the two following propositions: 1. The sun is the center of the world and consequently is without local motion; 2. the earth is not the center of the world and is not immobile, but it moves on its whole self by a daily motion. The first proposition was declared, by the consulting theologians, "senseless and absurd in philosophy and formally heretical in so far as it expressly contradicts several passages of Holy Scripture." The second was declared "to merit from the philosophical point of view the same censure and, from the theological point of view, to be at least erroneous in the faith."⁶⁰ In consequence of this declaration, on Friday,

⁵⁶ Pierre Aubanel, *Galilée et l'Eglise*, p. 70.

⁵⁷ Upon going to Rome in response to the summons of the Holy Office, Galileo wrote to his friend Diodati: "Suppose that later on the coherence and ensemble of the facts attest to the movement of the earth." The almost unanimous opinion of scholars declared that the new theory could not be admitted. See Aubanel, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 37.

⁵⁸ Letter of April 12, 1615, to Father Foscarini, published by Berti, *Copernico e le vicende del sistema copernicano*.

⁵⁹ Von Gebler, *Die Acten*, p. 12.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

February 26, the general commissarius of the Holy Office conveyed to Galileo, in the name of the Supreme Pontiff and of the Congregation of the Holy Office, "the order to abandon his opinion, the prohibition to defend it in any manner, under penalty of being brought to trial before the tribunal of the Inquisition."

The official report adds that Galileo agreed to the order given him and promised to obey.⁶¹ Evidently this order was a purely disciplinary measure. Then, on March 5, the Congregation of the Index, without mentioning Galileo by name, probably on account of his submission, condemned the Copernican theory as "false and altogether contrary to the divine Scripture." Was this merely a "theological note," analogous to that of "erroneous, temerarious, false, etc." which the Church was accustomed to employ when she intended to warn the faithful against a doctrine without calling it heretical? Or should this expression be regarded as the equivalent to a qualification of heresy? ⁶² Precisely this question is disputed. In any event, the form of the act of condemnation, a simple decree of a Roman Congregation, having none of the conditions of a definition of faith made by the Pope *ex cathedra*, did not involve the infallibility of the Church.⁶³

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁶² Funk (Zur Galilei Frage, p. 460) and Vacandard (*Etudes de critique et d'histoire*, p. 340) hold that "by the decree of 1616, the Copernican doctrine, taken as a whole, was stigmatized as heretical." But Grisar (*Galileistudien*, pp. 213-51) thinks that, since the qualification of "heretical" is found only in the decisions of the theological consultors, and not in the decree of the Congregation, the note of heresy was not incurred by the Copernican theory. Furthermore, we note that, from that time onward, the partisans of this theory were never regarded as heretics.

⁶³ To justify the Church in this affair, some writers have alleged: 1. that the decree of the Congregation was not signed by the Pope; 2. that Galileo's system was not condemned in itself, but only so far as it was based on Scripture; 3. that the Congregation allowed it to be held hypothetically; 4. that at bottom the decision of the Holy Office, condemning the theory of the immobility of the sun, is sound from the scientific viewpoint, as modern science shows that the sun has a movement of its own toward some point in space. All these arguments must be abandoned because: 1. the pope never signs the decrees of the Congregations, but the Congregations always

Things would have rested there and, as Bellarmine advised, people would have calmly "waited for a scientific demonstration of the motion of the earth, before interpreting the Scripture otherwise than had been done up to that time,"⁶⁴ if Galileo had not presently compromised the peace by his rash words and his imprudent steps.

The elevation of Cardinal Barberini, that wise friend of Galileo, to the Supreme Pontificate, under the name of Urban VIII, in 1623, might have assured the peaceful progress of science by giving security to the scholar; unfortunately this circumstance did but stir Galileo's claims. On October 9, 1623, he wrote to Prince Cesi: "I could not hope for more wonderful conjectures. . . . I am turning over in my mind projects of

act by his order; and the papal approbation is not declared in the decrees of 1616 and 1633; the custom of expressly mentioning it was not introduced until the middle of the eighteenth century; 2. a mere reading of the text of the decrees shows that the system of Copernicus is there condemned purely and simply; 3. at the time of Galileo, the word "hypothesis" was given a purely abstract meaning, as in mathematics (cf. Jaugey, *Le procès de Galilée et la théologie*, p. 13); 4. a reading of the documents of the trial shows that the Roman Congregations, in condemning the proposition that the sun is without local motion, intended simply to affirm that the sun is not the center of the world, that the sun moves round the earth, not the earth round the sun. Cf. Aubanel, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁶⁴ Father Grassi wrote as follows to Guiducci regarding the ideas of Galileo: "When a demonstration of this movement is made, we will need to interpret the Scripture differently from the way it has been done; this is Cardinal Bellarmine's view" (*Le opere*, IX, 65). Cardinals Conti, Borromeo, Francisco del Monte, and Maffeo Barberini were known to be favorable to Galileo's ideas. In September, 1612, a Dominican had sustained the Copernican theory in public lectures. Cf. *Le opere*, VIII, 274. Gregory XV's secretary of briefs, Agucchi, predicted to Galileo that "some day the world will unanimously approve your system" (*Le opere*, VIII, 274). From all this we may judge that Galileo's system was not condemned *in se*, but simply inasmuch as its author had improperly involved the Scripture. "We may say either that the Scripture must be interpreted in a scientific sense, as many think, and then evidently Galileo's theory is opposed to it; or, as Bellarmine thinks, the Scripture ought to be regarded as foreign to science, and in this case Galileo is wrong to mix it with his system." Today the rule of exegesis which at that time divided men's minds, is perfectly clear. The texts that were matter of discussion should be taken in a popular sense, since the inspired author's purpose was not to write a work of science. See Leo XIII's encyclical *Providentissimus* and the various replies of the Biblical Commission.

great importance.”⁶⁵ Doubtless, in his imagination, he saw the Pope humbling his enemies and crowning his triumphant work. The result of this sort of intoxication was the publication at Florence, in 1632, of a biting satire against his adversaries. He entitled the work, *Dialogo dei due massimi sistemi del mondo* (“Dialogue of the two greatest systems of the world”). Received by some with an almost delirious enthusiasm, it stirred the wrath of all those whom it blamed, at whom it railed, whom it sought to ridicule. This action was an insolent violation of the solemn promise made in 1616 before the Pope. Urban VIII could not let this infraction go unpunished. Galileo, summoned to appear before the tribunal of the Inquisition, was there convicted of having violated the prohibition of the Index of March 5, 1616, and of having taught the Copernican theory as absolutely true. Consequently, by a judgment of June 21, 1633, he was condemned to prison for a period which the Pope would determine at his own discretion. Immediately after the condemnation, the Holy Father assigned to him as prison the palace of the ambassador of Tuscany;⁶⁶ then, fifteen days later, allowed him to go to Siena, to the splendid residence of his friend Piccolomini, and finally authorized him to retire to his own villa of Arcetri near Florence. The only condition imposed was that he would not receive any person that was suspect and would not talk of the motion of the earth. The illustrious scholar there devoted himself to several scientific works, composed his *Dialoghi delle nuove scienze*, published at Leiden in 1638, and there he died, January 8, 1642, at peace with the Church, after receiving on his deathbed the blessing of the Pope.

Thus freed from fanciful elements which the ill will toward

⁶⁵ *Le opere*, VI, 289.

⁶⁶ It was the Villa Medici, built on the Pincio. Since 1801 it has been the seat of the Academy of Fine Arts. The grounds of the Villa Medici were at that time more extensive than they are today, including woods and vineyards of considerable extent.

the Church has often added,⁶⁷ such is the story of the condemnation of Galileo. An impartial examination of the facts justifies fully the judgment given, at the end of the eighteenth century, by the judicious historian of Italian literature, Tiraboschi: "If Galileo had not maintained his opinion in so fiery a manner and if various other circumstances had not combined to make him suspect and odious to the Roman tribunals, he would not have been subjected to any annoyance for defending his system."⁶⁸ To see in the decree of the Index (1616) and in the judgment of the Holy Office (1633) a deliberate attempt to halt the progress of science, is manifestly unjust. But, however it may be explained, the error committed by the Roman tribunals speaking in the name of the Holy See, is no less most regrettable. From it resulted an unfortunate impression, as the truth of the Copernican system came to appear more evident, and some appearance of truth could be found in the reproach by adversaries of the Church, that Rome had opposed science.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ "The account of the misfortunes of Galileo, exaggerated as a pious legend, has affirmed the triumph of the truths for which he suffered. . . . To tell the full truth, we must say that this great lesson did not cost him profound grief. Galileo's long life, viewed as a whole, was one of the mildest and most enviable in the whole story of the history of science" (J. Bertrand, *Les fondateurs de l'astronomie moderne*, p. 179). Galileo was not incarcerated in the prisons of the Inquisition, nor was he subjected to torture, as some have declared. A single document makes a remote and vague reference to torture, and that document is rejected as apocryphal by all historians. Cf. Bertrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-56. With regard to the anecdote which shows Galileo proudly holding up his head in the presence of his judges and exclaiming: *E pur si muove* ("Yet it does move"), is the most unplausible of legends. It was related for the first time in 1761 by Abbé Iraitl in his book, *Les querrelles littéraires*. The truth is that Galileo abjured his doctrine with perfect docility before his judges. Cf. Vacandard, *Etudes de critique et d'histoire*, p. 335.

⁶⁸ Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, VIII, 346.

⁶⁹ The decisions of the Congregations were never considered by contemporaries as unchangeable, or irrevocable. In fact, the Church did later revoke them. Cf. Vacandard, *op. cit.*, p. 374; Grisar, *Galileistudien*, pp. 123, 344, 354-56.

The national edition of Galileo's works, begun in 1890, terminated with the twentieth volume, published in 1909. It is entitled *Galilei opere*. Galileo's immense correspondence includes more than 4,000 letters.

On Galileo, see Léon Garzend, *L'Inquisition et l'hérésie, à propos de Galilée*, 1943.

Activities of Urban VIII

The condemnation of Galileo was a misfortune; the war of Castro was a blunder.

Among the great families which various regimes had elevated to high positions in the peninsula, was the Farnese family, which rivalries of interest and ambition had put in opposition with the Barberini family.⁷⁰ In their Castro domain, erected into a duchy by one of them, Pope Paul III, the Farnesi exercised a sort of feudal tyranny to the detriment of all justice. Urban VIII, yielding to the insistence of his relatives, the Barberini, seized possession of Castro (October 13, 1641); then, a few months later (January, 1642), he issued an excommunication against the Duke. This rigor aroused the Italian princes, long jealous of the aggrandizement of the Papal States. Tuscany, Modena, and Venice came to the aid of Duke Farnese, who sallied into the Roman State with 3,000 horsemen. Urban obtained peace only through the mediation of the King of France and the abandonment of the Duchy of Castro to the Farnese family (May 31, 1644). This wretched war, in which we see a pope yielding to the ambitious solicitations of his relatives, was a blot on the pontificate of Urban VIII.⁷¹

Yet the moral and spiritual influence of the Holy See continued to be exercised effectively upon the faithful of the whole world. Pope Urban canonized (May 25, 1625) St. Elizabeth of Portugal, the illustrious princess who, after the death of her husband, King Diniz, led the life of a poor Franciscan sister. The Pope also placed on the altars (April 22, 1629) St. Andrew Corsini, the Florentine nobleman who had renounced a most brilliant future to put on the habit of the Carmelites. Thus Urban VIII recalled to the world the ideal of the most sublime

⁷⁰ Muratori, XI, 142.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 153 f.

Christian virtues. By his many encouragements of the religious orders, by the approbation which he gave (January 12, 1632) to the Congregation of the Mission, and by the foundation at Rome of the College of the Propaganda, the zealous Pontiff facilitated the realization of this ideal among the faithful. In his care everywhere to favor the spread of the Gospel, he welcomed graciously an ambassador of the King of Congo and the envoys of the patriarch of Constantinople, Parthenius, with whom he conversed in the language of Homer without an interpreter. Urban VIII also thought that the encouragement given to zeal would not become truly efficacious unless it was accompanied by the severe repression of abuses. A devout person of Barcelona, Isabel Rosella, had founded, in imitation of St. Ignatius Loyola, the religious congregation of the Jesuitesses, with the four solemn vows. This institute, which was not approved by Pope Paul III, was not regarded favorably by the Jesuits themselves. Pope Urban VIII suppressed it in 1638.⁷²

The Pope was less admirably inspired in the realization of another reform, in which his literary taste was a factor no less than his priestly zeal. In spite of five successive revisions which the popes had given to the breviary since the beginning of the sixteenth century, the complaints of scholars, humanists, and liturgists continued. The scholars considered that the text of the homilies of the Church Fathers inserted in the breviary was not always conformable to the best sources; the humanists criticized the hymns for their offenses against the laws of prosody and good meter; the liturgists called for divisions in the psalms better suited to the requirements of psalmody. Urban VIII appointed two commissions for the revision of

⁷² On the Jesuitesses, their constitution, their history, and their suppression, see Hélyot, *Histoire des ordres monastiques*, VII, 491-93, and Richard Simon, *Bibl. crit.*, I, 298. Richard Simon is mistaken in holding that the Roman bullarium does not contain the act of suppression of the Jesuitesses. The brief of suppression is to be found under its date, 1638, in the *Bullarium*, IV, 115.

the breviary and, by his bull *Divinam psalmodiam*, approved a new edition, in which the patristic texts were given according to their collation with the best manuscripts, the Latin verses of the hymns were revised in accordance with the principles of classical prosody, and the verses of the psalms were divided by an asterisk to indicate the place of the mediant. This is the breviary we have today. Some critics maintain that the corrections of the hymns have deformed them rather than improved the work of Christian antiquity,⁷³ and that Urban imitated the Barberini, his relatives, who, by supplying missing members to the ancient statues, disfigured them more than did the earlier mutilations.⁷⁴ Thus this correction of the breviary was not acceptable, in a general way, to the Christian people. None of the religious orders that have kept their ancient rites adopted it; even at Rome, in the basilica of St. Peter, it was rejected, and "the best canonists, though fulfilling the obligation of conforming to it in the recitation of the Office, let it be seen that the Church, through its head, could some day revise the decision of Urban VIII."⁷⁵

The conclusion of the peace treaty with the Farnesi was the last consolation of Urban VIII. At the very time when he was promising himself to profit by the calming of men's minds in Italy, to carry out more earnestly the work of reform, he felt himself stricken by the disease that would bring about his death. At once he asked the help of religion. A manuscript report of his death relates that he then showed regret at having excessively favored his nephews. Some have said that the murmurs of the people, who cursed the Barberini, and the failures of the chief undertakings of the papal policy hastened Urban's death.⁷⁶ He died July 7, 1644, at the age of seventy-seven years.

⁷³ Ulysse Chevalier, *Université catholique*, VIII, 122.

⁷⁴ Battifol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, p. 221.

⁷⁵ Chevalier, *loc. cit.* We know that Pope Pius X appointed a commission charged with the revision of the breviary.

⁷⁶ Muratori, XI, 199.

Innocent X (1644-55)

Nothing would be more unjust than to blame the popes of this period for the failure of their external policy. Those results sprang from more general causes. For two centuries the civil powers had continually developed in the direction of a more jealous autonomy of their so-called rights. The Treaty of Westphalia was the official consecration of these claims. The wisest and most zealous popes came into conflict with this new state of mind. Such is the spectacle presented to us by the pontificate of Urban's successor, Innocent X.

The old man, seventy-two years old, who was elected Pope on September 15, 1644, had only one idea: to continue the work of Catholic restoration to which his two predecessors had initiated him.⁷⁷ In contrast to the somewhat haughty austerity of Urban VIII, at first he showed a ready affability and cheerful humor. In the various offices he had held he always showed himself active and loyal, as well as gentle and engaging. Innocent X kept these qualities in his pontificate. The good people of Rome used to say: "See how our Pope, in spite of the burdens of age and office, has remained as fresh and unreserved as before; he is pleased to talk with everyone and gives everyone a chance to explain." To maintain order and tranquillity in Rome by suitable regulations and by a well-organized police, was his first care. During the famine that afflicted the city in 1649, after the overflowing of the Tiber, he spent himself without stint, ordered a supply of wheat from Sicily and Poland, organized relief, visited the bakers, even opened the Lateran palace to all the needy for the distribution of provisions. The next year the celebration of the jubilee was another occasion for emphasizing his contact with the people. At all the

⁷⁷ The new Pope, sprung from the noble Pamfili family, had been auditor of the Rota and nuncio to the court of Naples under Gregory XV. Urban VIII raised him to the dignity of patriarch of Antioch and accredited him as nuncio to Philip IV.

ceremonies he prayed with the crowd. Following his example, the Roman nobles placed their villas and houses at the use of the visitors, and all classes of society seemed to form but one body and one soul, as in the first days of Christianity.

Under the Pope's influence, popular preachers grew in number. He himself encouraged their manner of preaching, which was apostolic, informal, and earnest. He was present at the sermons of preachers, such as the Jesuits Segneri and Abrizzi, who most vigorously flayed the morals of the time. Innocent X, convinced that no more effective instruments of religious regeneration could be found than fervent and well-regulated congregations, confirmed the institute of the Noble Widows of Dole, established to spread the cult of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and that of the Secular Priests of Christian Doctrine, founded by Cesar de Bus. But the Pope dissolved the act of union which the latter had imprudently made with the Somaschi,⁷⁸ and abolished two congregations that had departed from their primitive rule: that of St. Basil of the Armenians and that of the Good Jesus of Ravenna. At the same time his attention was drawn to the activities of the Jansenists: by the bull *Cum occasione* (May 31, 1653) he condemned the five famous propositions of Jansen; and he also denounced (April 23, 1654) the apocryphal bull by which, according to the Jansenists, Paul V condemned Molina.

Following the example of his predecessors, Innocent X was much occupied with embellishing the city of Rome. We are told that whenever he passed through the piazza of St. Peter he

⁷⁸ In 1616, Father Viger, third superior general of the Clerks Regular of Christian Doctrine, with a view to strengthening his congregation, decided to give it the form of a religious order, introducing solemn vows. For this purpose he united it with the Order of the Somaschi. But, as the union did not produce the desired effects, Father Viger himself finally requested the Holy See to annul the contract made with the Somaschi fathers. The decree of Innocent X returning the Clerks Regular of Christian Doctrine to the secular clergy is dated July 30, 1647. On this question, see Hélyot, *Hist. des ordres monastiques*, IV, 239-44.

could not take his eyes from the fountain of Paul V: he wished to rival that Pope in sumptuousness. Michelangelo and Bramante were no longer there, but Bernini, their ambitious disciple, was at the height of his fame. Among his works of unequal merit, in which immoderate bigness often took the place of real grandeur, in which the absurd was sometimes to be found side by side with imposing greatness, people admired the sumptuous and ponderous baldachino in St. Peter's, the superb Villa Barberini and the two ugly towers of the Pantheon which popular malice called "Bernini's ass's ears." After some hesitation, Innocent entrusted to Bernini the execution of his great projects. Certainly the daring artist became responsible for the wretched interior of St. Peter's. By a lavish use of bronze around the "chair of St. Peter," by his multitude of distressing statues in the niches that he cut in the pilasters, by profusely spreading his veneer of many-colored marbles the length of the immense nave, Bernini made the work of Bramante and Michelangelo lose some of its majestic grandeur. But his exterior work was indeed beautiful. When he moved to the enlarged piazza of St. Peter the great obelisk of the temple of Caracalla and when, in this vast space where you would have felt yourself flooded with so much air and light, the artist planned to put a double colonnade, extending to right and left its two immense stone arms, as though to embrace the world,⁷⁹ Innocent might well say that his dream was at last realized: he had embellished the work of Paul V.

This somewhat gorgeous grandeur which Innocent X was fond of in the arts, he carried also into his government. His external policy, where the cause of the Church inspired him most happily, had an imprint of magnanimity; but in his internal policy, where his family interests too often influenced him, unfortunately the desire for splendor was dominant.

⁷⁹ This project was realized by Bernini under Alexander VII.

The Treaty of Westphalia

At the very hour when the descendant of the Pamfili mounted to the throne of St. Peter, the long efforts of Urban VIII were resulting in the first negotiations of peace between the powers whose bitter strifes, for almost thirty years, covered all Europe with ruins. In 1644 the first plenipotentiaries of France, Sweden, Austria, all the Christian states of the continent, and all princes of Germany and of the imperial cities, were on their way to the cities of Münster and Osnabrück, selected by common agreement as the place for a discussion of the conditions of peace. Three powers—France, Sweden, and the Empire—acted as intermediaries for all the others.⁸⁰ They arrogated to themselves the fullest powers that any congress of nations ever exercised, and did not hesitate to remake the map of Europe or to recast international law or to regulate with authority the most delicate questions touching the relations of religion with the states.

Apart from the clauses dealing with purely political questions in such a way as to assure the preponderance of the France of Louis XIV ⁸¹ and to transform from top to bottom the constitution of Germany,⁸² the plenipotentiaries of Münster and Osnabrück, in their sincere and laudable desire to establish a durable peace among the various religious denominations and the different nations, unfortunately brought about the triumph of three principles, which none of them formulated in explicit terms but which history must extract and place in relief because they sum up ideas vaguely spread for two centuries and would inspire all modern politics: the principle of European equilibrium, the principle of the equality of forms of worship, and that of the supremacy of the civil power.

⁸⁰ Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, VII, Part I, p. 15.

⁸¹ On the rather vague clause which contained the cession of Alsace to France, see Lavissee, *loc. cit.*

⁸² Lavissee, pp. 16-21.

The establishment of an international order based on the principle of European equilibrium was the triumph of Richelieu's policy, which Mazarin well grasped and continued.⁸³ At the time when the modern nations had just been constituted in their autonomy, to prevent the easily oppressive dominance of any one of them was indeed an important aim. Urban VIII himself had been concerned with that danger. But the idea that triumphed in the Treaty of Westphalia had a vaster import and is to be traced further back. In our study of the intellectual movement of the Renaissance, we found close to Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin, the figures of Ximenes, Granvelle, and Wolsey, beside Michelangelo we found Machiavelli. Under the influence of these latter personages, external policy had changed, as art and philosophy had. A sudden extension in the combinations of diplomacy; a regularity previously unknown in the service of cabinets and embassies; the establishment of permanent armies; the term "power" then used to designate, in the sphere of international relations, the nations in which the powers resided and the princes who had the disposal of these forces; the idea of a "political balance of the powers" neutralizing one another by a simple play of opposed forces, substituted for a "political system" based on law: such had been the stages of an evolution whose theorists had been Machiavelli and his disciples. And, though we cannot regard Richelieu as a mere adept of Machiavellianism, we must recognize in the spirit of the great French minister some imprint of the ideas set forth by the Florentine statesman.⁸⁴

The treaties of Münster and Osnabrück gave official sanc-

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁸⁴ On the agreements and divergences between the principles of Machiavelli and those of Richelieu, see Paul Janet, *Histoire de la science politique dans ses rapports avec la morale* (2nd ed., II, 101 ff.). Some traces of Machiavellianism are evident in what Richelieu says about justice in the political sphere. According to him, this justice ought to follow a different path from that of ordinary justice (*Testament politique*, Part II, chap. 5). But we should note that no political writer has more strongly and brilliantly condemned the principle of disregard for agreements made (*ibid.*, chap. 6).

tion to these ideas. When the diplomats of Europe, after five years of negotiations, finally drew up the clauses that have received the name of Treaty of Westphalia, the Holy Empire, natural defender of international law, no longer existed.⁸⁵ Germany was officially open to the foreigner; the King of Sweden entered the diet; the King of France became a member of the League of the Rhine; the sovereignty of the princes and cities of the Empire was recognized; the imperial authority was reduced to nothingness; and the high contracting powers, declared to be the guarantors of the Peace of Westphalia, had the right to maintain that anarchy. Notably France, which filled the role of lion in this dismemberment of the Empire and which, "a Catholic and monarchical state, became the ally of heretics, infidels, rebellious Flemish, Hungarians, and Neapolitans, was the first to practice with brilliance that policy of national egoism."⁸⁶ In short, this peace, based not on right, but simply on the equilibrium of the forces, without any idea of justice, could be, according to Frederick von Schlegel's view, nothing more than a superficial peace, an interim, the preface of another general peace, which our age is still waiting for.⁸⁷

The principle of the equality of Christian denominations and consequently the admission of the Protestants to all political rights, were set forth in the first section of Article V of the Treaty of Osnabrück, declaring that an exact and reciprocal equality should exist between all the Electors, Princes, and States of either religion. Other articles specified that, in the assembly of the deputies of the Empire and in the imperial chamber, an equal number of Catholics and of Protestants should have seats. To put an end to the difficulties arising in connection with the possession of ecclesiastical property, as also in connection with the exercise of worship, the Treaty provided

⁸⁵ E. Denis in Lavissee and Rambaud, *Hist. gén.*, V, 581.

⁸⁶ Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. VII, Part I, p. 23.

⁸⁷ Cf. Schlegel, *Philosophy of History*, II, 424.

that all things should revert to the condition they were in on January 1, 1624. The princes agreed among themselves that plenary indulgence should be granted for all their thefts up to 1624, which was declared the normal year, after which they proclaimed they would no longer steal. At least they were expected to refer to the pope and to the bishops, without whose authorization any transfer of ecclesiastical property was null and void. The Treaty of Osnabrück went even further. Articles X–XV granted to certain Protestant princes, under the title of “compensation,” “satisfaction,” or “recompense,” a great number of monastic and ecclesiastical properties. In this treaty and in this connection we meet for the first time the word “secularization.”

The essentially Protestant principle of the supremacy of the civil power ⁸⁸ was clearly proclaimed in Article V, section 12. The treaty said: “Since to the states belongs, together with the right of territory and supremacy, the right to reform religion . . . no immediate state will be disturbed in its right over the affairs of religion.” This provision was in formal opposition to the Council of Trent, which reserved to the ecclesiastical authority, notably to councils canonically held, the right to reform morals and to pronounce on dogmatic formulas.⁸⁹

The Bull *Zelus domus meae*

The Pope’s protest could not fail to be heard. By his bull *Zelus domus meae* (November 26, 1648), Innocent X declared “null, vain, invalid, iniquitous, reprovèd, without force or effect . . . all the articles of the treaty prejudicial to the Catholic religion, to divine worship, to the Apostolic Roman See, as well as to inferior Churches.” A learned German canonist says:

⁸⁸ That the doctrine of the supremacy of the civil power in matters of religion is an essentially Protestant doctrine, is amply demonstrated by Döllinger in his *The Church and the Churches*, pp. 55–62.

⁸⁹ Session XXIV, De reform., chap. 2.

In fact, if the Treaty of Westphalia can be regarded as a sincere and meritorious effort so far as its aim was to establish a durable peace among the various religions and between the different nations, from the viewpoint of the civil law of the period and from the viewpoint of canon law it was an evident injustice. The states did not have the right to attribute to temporal rulers foundations that had been established for the benefit of corporations and for purposes of a spiritual order ; and they could not dispose of the goods of the Church without the consent of the canonically recognized authorities of the Church, namely, the bishops and the pope. They had even less right to take upon themselves to abolish bishoprics and chapters, whose spiritual jurisdiction depended directly on the Holy See.⁹⁰

Among the statesmen of the time who, according to the expression of Innocent X, sought rather their own interests than the interests of God, none seemed greatly affected by a protest which the Pope had made to free his conscience so as not to be charged with neglect on the day when he would appear before the judgment seat of God. The Pontiff's authority was the less to be dreaded in their eyes since countless difficulties at Rome were hindering the free exercise of his government. Once again the papacy fell under the yoke of nepotism. Innocent's sister-in-law, Olimpia Madalchini of Viterbo, an energetic and intriguing woman, seems to have been responsible for the excessive favors that the Pope bestowed on members of his family. The faction of the Barberini, nephews of the preceding Pope, bestirred themselves. Even among the relatives of Innocent X jealousy sowed division and strife. The Spanish party, which counted several members in Rome, rose up menacingly. Certain noblemen, friends of Mazarin, by way of protest, displayed the arms of France in the windows of their palaces. Measures taken by the Pope and attributed to the influence of Olimpia, increased the irritation of the nobility. Age and cares deeply affected the robust constitution of the Pontiff. Then his

⁹⁰ Walter, *Manuel de droit canonique*, 8th ed., p. 221. Cf. Alzog, *History of the Church*, III, 459.

domineering sister-in-law no longer left his side ; in a way, she forced her services on him. At the end of December, 1654, the unfortunate Innocent X, feeling feebler than usual, wished to receive the last sacraments and gathered his nephews and nieces about him. He murmured : "You see how the grandeurs of the Supreme Pontificate come to an end."

On January 7, 1655, assisted by Father Gian Paolo Oliva, general of the Society of Jesus, he rendered his soul to God. A chronicler relates that his body remained three days abandoned in a room of the palace, where workmen used to leave their tools. Olimpia, on whom the Curia relied to make the necessary arrangements, did not even take the trouble to order a coffin or to make any other provisions. Pallavicini, recalling the fact, adds : "This is a great lesson for the Pontiffs. It teaches them what they can expect from relatives for whom they have compromised their conscience and their honor.

This date marks more than the death of a pope ; it was the end of a regime. In fact, henceforth the voice of the papacy will no longer be heard in the temporal order. It will confine itself to the spiritual order, and will scarcely be uttered except in days of extreme peril, to save that ungrateful Europe, which it had in times of old civilized and organized.

CHAPTER II

The Catholic Renaissance in Spain, Italy, and Germany

WHILE the Christian rulers were succeeding in breaking the political bonds that connected them with the papacy and refused or neglected to publish the decrees of the Council of Trent, the spirit of the great council spread throughout Europe and produced abundant fruit of a wise reform. Spain, which, in the second half of the previous century, had given the Church so many great reformers, continued, in spite of the shocks of a terrible economic and political crisis, to produce saints. Germany, torn by political and religious anarchy, increased the efforts for the restoration of the clergy and the edification of the faithful. Italy was covered with teaching and charitable religious congregations. But in France the movement of the Catholic renaissance, which was retarded by the religious wars until the coming of Henry IV, developed in all its fullness. Under the influence of St. Francis de Sales and St. Vincent de Paul, of the institute of the Jesuits and of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, the land of France became covered with works of piety, zeal, and charity.

The Church in Spain

During all of the first half of the seventeenth century, the great Spain of Charles V and Philip II continued to decline. In a space of sixty-seven years the Spanish monarchy, so mighty in appearance, so proud of its immense possessions, which were said to be twenty times as great as those of the Roman Empire, tumbled with the heaviest fall that modern history

records. Some writers have tried to lay the blame for this decline upon the weak character of the two successors of Philip II and on the supposed fanaticism of the bishop who advised the expulsion of the Moors. True, neither Philip III nor Philip IV seems to have been of a stature to govern, with the required vigilance, the vast Spanish possessions in Asia, Africa, America, Italy, and the Netherlands. It is likewise true that the expulsion of the Moors deprived Spain of a large number of hard-working farmers and able artisans. But the causes of the Spanish decline are of a more general sort and of more remote origin. The sudden abundance of the precious metals, which the peninsula obtained from its colonies, provoked a considerable emigration of Spaniards to America and discouraged the labor of agriculture and industry in the country. When Philip III, to compensate for the loss which the nation suffered by the expulsion of the Moors, offered titles of nobility and exemption from the military service to all his subjects who would devote themselves to agriculture, his appeal was not heeded.

The Spanish monarchy, moreover, in consequence of various influences that affected all Europe, turned more and more to despotism.¹ With Philip III, ruled by the Duke of Lerma, and with Philip IV, dominated by Count Olivares, the regime of favorites became implanted in the kingdom. While a meticulous and inflexible etiquette regulated everything at court,² and a bureaucratic centralization spread the network of its system over all the public services, wiping out the old municipal liberties before the invading authority of the corregidores and

¹ In the preceding volume we saw how the Protestant Revolt, by necessitating energetic repressions, by exalting the power of the kings in the spiritual order, and by destroying the weighty and moral influence of the clergy, everywhere, even in nations that remained Catholic, favored and consolidated the absolute power of the kings.

² Philip III died a victim of etiquette, in consequence of an attack of erysipelas, because his chamberlain, the Duke of Uzeda, who alone had the right to enter his apartment, was not there to remove an overheated brazier. Bassompierre, *Ambassades en Espagne*, p. 228.

the *alcaldes*, outstanding personalities disappeared, even the clergy, sharing the widespread indolence, no longer gave the people the strong spiritual nourishment which it had formerly distributed. The abundant literature of this period, with Cervantes as the most illustrious representative, fixed, with some marks of genius, the representative types of that sad epoch: the impoverished *hidalgo*, proud beneath his rags, the famished student, sauntering about the public squares, the brutal muleteer, the rapacious innkeeper, the bandit giving battle to the police in the *sierras*, and all these folks, wretched or disreputable, mantling themselves in the memory of the past grandeur of their country, in their dignity as man and Spaniard, wearing a sword, and calling one another "Your Grace" and "Knight."

Yet the deep religious impulse given to the country by St. Ignatius Loyola and by St. Theresa was still powerful. A race that had produced such heroes could not quickly decay under economic and political influences. The movement of religious reform was not halted nor was the current of holiness dried up: while the Society of Jesus gave to the Church of Spain, Alonzo Rodriguez and Peter Claver; the Carmelite Order, its greatest theologians and its most zealous missionaries; the orders of Mercy, of the Trinity, and of the Friars Minor, the most austere of the saints; a great bishop and a humble woman entered even into the council of the kings and there made prevail the rights of justice and of truth.

In 1609 a book appeared at Seville, a quarto volume of more than 600 pages, *The Practice of Christian and Religious Perfection*. Its author was Father Alonzo Rodriguez of the Society of Jesus. This book would remain the classical manual of Christian asceticism. Few works would be more widely spread or would win so great approbation. Port Royal, at the very time it most vehemently attacked the moral teaching of the Jesuits, circulated the work of Rodriguez. While the book of the learned Jesuit spread the practice of Christian virtues through the

world, a lowly lay brother of the same name was giving an admirable example of those virtues by performing the modest duties of porter in the college which the Society of Jesus conducted at Majorca;³ and one of the students of this college, likewise a son of St. Ignatius, was devoting himself heroically to the apostolate of the black race. This was Peter Claver, who used to sign all his letters: "Peter, the slave of the Negroes forever."

Religious Orders

The daughters of St. Theresa spread out in all the Christian countries and even beyond. In 1604 Marie of the Incarnation introduced them into France, where they would become one of the purest glories of the French Church. Four years earlier a branch of the Carmelites, formed into a special congregation under the name of St. Elias, expanded into the whole world, passed into Belgium, France, Poland, Germany, and Austria, founded stations in the Protestant countries, such as Holland and England, reached out into distant missions, preached the gospel in Persia, India, Armenia, and Turkey, established itself in Peking, and extended even to North America. Father Thomas of Jesus, Father Peter of the Mother of God, and Father Dominic of Jesus Mary, Discalced Carmelites, had a considerable part in the organization of Propaganda,⁴ and Father Bernard of St. Joseph founded at Paris a seminary of the foreign missions.⁵ Such aspirations of apostolic zeal did not turn the sons of St. Theresa and of St. John of the Cross from the high theological studies which St. Theresa always honored so greatly. From 1621 to 1707 the Discalced Carmelites of Alcalá and Salamanca published two collective works of immense

³ Pope Leo XIII canonized him January 15, 1882.

⁴ On the constitution of Propaganda by Gregory XV, see De Martinis, *Juris pontificii de propaganda fide*, Part I, Vol. I, p. 1.

⁵ Cf. Zimmermann in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, II, 1783. On the congregation of St. Elias, see Hélyot, *Hist. des ordres monastiques*, I, 356-58.

theological significance. The *Complutenses* and the *Salmanticensis* hold a place among the most famous theologians of modern times.

The Order of the Trinity, founded for the redemption of captives, provided fine examples of charity in Spain. Blessed Simon de Rojas, who was the confessor of Queen Elizabeth, the wife of Philip II, and who directed the education of her two sons, edified the court by his thoroughly evangelical conduct. However, laxity had entered the order. As early as 1594 a general chapter expressed the desire for a reform. The work was attempted and, amid countless difficulties,⁶ was brought to success by a holy religious, born at Almodovar, a village of the diocese of Toledo, of a family so much esteemed that St. Theresa, passing through Almodovar, was unwilling to take lodging anywhere but in the home of the father of our saint. He was called in religion Father Juan Bautista of the Immaculate Conception. His mortifications recalled those of the most austere Fathers of the desert. Associated with some fervent religious of his order, he organized a community in which each one on entrance stripped himself of his clothes in exchange for coarser ones, and abandoned his shoes "to go barefoot, wearing only little sandals of leather or rope, in the Spanish manner."⁷ Such was the origin of the Discalced Trinitarians, authorized in 1609 by Paul V to elect a vicar-general and made completely independent in 1636 by a bull of Urban VIII.⁸ Soon they spread, not only in Spain, but even in Poland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Italy, and France.

About this same period, in 1613, a noble young woman, raised at the court of the king of Spain, Blessed Marianna of Jesus, founded the pious institute of the discalced nuns of Our Lady of Mercy, whose aim was to obtain from God, by prayer and

⁶ For an account of these trials, see Hélyot, *op. cit.*, II, 323-26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 327. Juan Bautista of the Immaculate Conception was beatified by Pius VII in 1819.

the practice of penance, the conversion of sinners, the release of the souls in purgatory, and the redemption of Christians who had fallen into the power of the infidels.⁹

Juan de Ribera

The secular clergy also had some saints. Such was the illustrious Juan de Ribera,¹⁰ to whom St. Pius V had confided the government of the diocese of Valencia and whom Philip III appointed viceroy of the province of the same name. He was an upright man, deeply religious, passionately devoted to the interests of the Church and of his country. But the province of Valencia, at the time when he had to direct its civil and religious administration, was a prey to formidable difficulties. These came especially from the presence of nobles and wealthy families of Mussulman origin, officially belonging to the Church by baptism and by the outward practices of religion and at the same time attached to Spain by the oath of allegiance to the King. But they were thought to be quite ready at times to return to Mohammedanism and to rise up against the state. They were called Moriscos or Moors. A decree of Charles V placed them under the authority of the Inquisition. Their situation was not made worse by this act, quite otherwise. Says Hefelev: "In general they were treated with much mildness. Pope Clement VII was solicitous that they should be given a solid Christian instruction. Emperor Charles V forbade the confiscation of the apostates' property, which was to be kept for their children; he likewise forbade the condemnation of any apostate to death. Gregory XIII strove to win the Moors by kindness. But these measures were vain. Again and again they rose up and joined hands with the Moors of Africa."¹¹ The danger was extremely

⁹ Marianna of Jesus was beatified by Pius VI in 1783.

¹⁰ Alarcon, *El Beato Juan de Ribera*.

¹¹ Hefelev, art. "Mauren" in *Kirchenlexicon*, VIII, 1050 (1898 ed.).

serious. Juan de Ribera did not hesitate to advise the King to adopt a radical measure: the definitive expulsion of the Moors from the soil of Spain. This was a bold counsel.¹² With the applause of all the enlightened men of Spain, notably of Cervantes, Philip III (September 22, 1609) promulgated a decree ordering the Moors to quit the soil of Spain. In consequence of this decree, 400,000 persons, about one-twentieth of the population, were thus constrained to flee. Most of them sought refuge on the Barbary coast. Undoubtedly the unity of Spain was thereafter protected from the most dread peril; but likewise undeniable is the fact that the departure of such a large part of the population brought about serious economic disturbances in the peninsula. Because of the people's indolence Philip's efforts to repopulate the abandoned lands failed to accomplish the expected results. Finally, when this good and pious but feeble King went down to the grave, the economic decline of Spain had advanced another step.

This movement was accelerated under Philip IV (1621-65), or rather under the government of Duke Olivares, who directed the whole policy of the King and who engaged the Spanish monarchy in that gigantic struggle against a part of Europe, in which Spain would lose its army, its navy, and its last resources. A certain pamphleteer wrote: "Philip, you are great, but after the manner of ditches: the more a person takes away from them, the greater they are."

A humble religious, abbess of the Franciscan convent of Agreda, on the border of Aragon and Old Castile, tried to arrest her country on its fatal decline. To the King of Spain

¹² Of this affair, Richelieu wrote as follows: "It was the most barbarous advice to be found in the history of any ages." This severe condemnation has been repeated and even aggravated by most historians. See Lavissee and Rambaud, *Histoire générale*, V, 652; Cantu, *Histoire universelle*, XV, 186; Vacandard, *The Inquisition*, p. 198; Langlois, *L'Inquisition d'après les travaux récents*, p. 110. The measure has been well justified in the masterly work of Don Boronat y Barrachina, *Los Moriscos españoles y su expulsión*. We cannot now question that the Morisco peril gravely threatened the security of Spain under Philip III.

she wrote (October 13, 1643): "Sire, among those near you, some are of no value in affairs. Others are there also, whose talents and ability might be useful to you. . . . The former government is detested because to it are attributed our calamities of today: people think that they are the same men who govern. You will find it to the purpose to give a wise satisfaction to the world that asks it, for Your Majesty has need of it." ¹³

Mary of Agreda

She who dared offer such advice to the King of Spain was the daughter of a simple bourgeois of the city of Agreda, Mary Coronel, in religion Mary of Jesus, better known under the name of Mary of Agreda. Mystical graces, supernatural revelations, which she committed to writing but without publishing the account, from the year 1627 ¹⁴ had drawn to herself the attention of her superiors. In 1643, when Catalonia and Portugal separated violently from the crown, King Philip IV, passing through Agreda, decided to ask counsel of the holy abbess. The result of that interview was a correspondence between the King and the nun, which went on for twenty-two years, until the death of Mary of Agreda. The letter that we quoted above is the second that she wrote to him. The King replied: "The evils which took so long a time to be produced cannot be repaired in so short a time; but I am determined to depart from the path followed up to the present by the preceding government. I hope that you will have proof of this, and you will be able to declare to the world that the past is no more. This is the truth, and I have resolved that it shall be." ¹⁵

The editor of the royal correspondence adds at this point: "The history of the reign of Philip IV shows us that unfortu-

¹³ Germont de Lavigne, *La sœur Marie d'Agréda et Philippe IV*, pp. 19-21.

¹⁴ Van den Gheyn, art. "Marie d'Agréda" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, I, 628.

¹⁵ Germont de Lavigne, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

nately this resolution, apparently so firm, had no effect in the future; and the venerable mother, undoubtedly understanding that the weak spirit of the King was little disposed to profit by the wise counsels of those who were devoted to him, confined her efforts to working for the reformation of the morals of that realm, trying to inspire in the prince the practice of real holiness." ¹⁶ "The letters of the nun consoled him for all the troubles of his reign, for all the discomforts of a continual state of illness. Then, when Mary was dead, having no longer anyone to console him, and no longer receiving from anyone about him those lofty admonitions which filled all his hours without his ever profiting by them, he fell into disgust with life and died four months after the venerable sister." ¹⁷

Five years later, in 1670, appeared the principal work of Mary of Agreda, *La mistica ciudad de Dios, historia divina de la Virgen, Madre de Dios* ("The Mystical City of God"). Taking as its basis certain private revelations, it relates the detailed history of the Blessed Virgin. It is a strange work, containing a mystical contemplation that is truly imposing. Its speculative part shows a depth that is rare in a woman, but the emphasis, the pompous style, sometimes the bad taste, and extraordinary historical assertions disconcert the reader.¹⁸ As soon as this book appeared, it had an immense vogue in Spain and, among clergy and people, continued the work of edification which the pious abbess had attempted to accomplish with the King. But we must recognize that the work of Mary of Agreda

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

¹⁸ What is the doctrinal value of this work? The holy life of María de Agreda creates a prejudice in favor of her good faith. But we know that mystical writers have not, for the account of their revelations, the divine assistance which God accorded to the sacred writers. The limited culture of the pious abbess, her ignorance of theology and of history, may have led her into many an error. In her preface she herself says: "Error on my part is possible; for that I submit to the correction of holy Church" (Introduction to Part I, no. 14). Bossuet passed a severe judgment on this book. See *Œuvres de Bossuet* (Lebel ed.), XXX, 637-40; XL, 172, 204 ff.; XLI, 92.

has but faint luster when compared with the calm work, so lofty in form and substance, so equal and perfect in all its parts, which St. Theresa gave to the world in the preceding century. Mysticism itself was in decadence.

The Church in Italy

The first half of the seventeenth century was a most disturbed period for Spain.¹⁹ But it was a most tranquil period for Italy.²⁰ No civil wars and no foreign wars upset the peace. Each state, with well-established boundaries, organized peacefully and freely. Yet, in literature and in the arts, this time of peace did not produce any of those great works which the preceding periods had given to Italy amid their ceaseless strifes. But the movement of religious revival, begun by the Council of Trent and vigorously pursued in Italy by St. Charles Borromeo and St. Philip Neri, developed, spread, covered the land of Italy with religious houses and charitable institutions, and gave birth to models of holiness. There we do not meet with the daring political projects of a Juan de Ribera—the situation of Italy did not lend itself to them—nor the mystical and somewhat obscure flights of a Mary of Agreda—the temperament of the nation was not inclined to them—but rather positive and practical institutions, works of education and charity.

At the opening of the seventeenth century, the work of the reform of the clergy by the founding of seminaries underwent a crisis in consequence of the opposition of a clerical feudalism obstinately attached to its privileges, but the 800 schools founded by St. Charles Borromeo in the diocese of Milan were in full prosperity, and the renown of the great Archbishop continued to grow. Numerous miracles took place at his tomb. In

¹⁹ Under Philip IV several conflicts arose between the court of Madrid and the Holy See. Innocent X even recalled his nuncio, Gaetani, from Spain and closed the nunciature.

²⁰ Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 1.

1601 Pope Clement VIII ordered that the requiem Mass, which was said annually for the venerated prelate, should be replaced by a Mass of the Holy Ghost. Three years later he instructed the Congregation of Rites to devote its attention to the procedures preparatory to canonization. The next year Leo XI decided to erect at Rome a church in honor of the venerated prelate; and on November 1, 1610, Paul V, with great solemnity, celebrated Charles Borromeo's enrollment in the catalogue of the saints.

An almost equal veneration surrounded the memory of Philip Neri. Between 1600 and 1622 appeared three different biographies of the holy priest, written by Antonio Gallonio, Girolamo Barnabei, and Giacomo Bacci. These books spread far and wide the fragrance of his virtues. A bull of Paul V, dated February 24, 1612, gave canonical approbation to the Congregation of the Oratory founded by him.

The influence of these two great men dominated all the works and institutions of this period in Italy. A disciple of St. Philip Neri, St. Camillus de Lellis, a former soldier, who became the passionate lover of Jesus Christ in the person of the sick poor, had founded, about the close of the sixteenth century, the Congregation of Clerks Regular Ministering to the Sick. At his death (1613) the holy founder left more than 20 houses, 16 of them in Italy, and about 300 religious. More than 120 of these religious had died, victims of their devotedness, from diseases contracted in the hospitals. They were known by the name of "The Fathers of a Good Death" because at the bedside of the dying they devoted themselves to the work of preparing them for a pious death.

Besides these devoted servants of the poor, who wore as their distinctive sign a light brown cross on their habits,²¹ the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God, wearing cowl and

²¹ Hélyot, Vol. IV, plate 59.

hood,²² also vowed themselves to the service of the sick. This institute came from Spain.²³ Soon it was recruited abundantly in Italy, where the people called them the Fate Bene Fratelli, from the words they used in asking alms.

The Clerks Regular of the Pious Schools, or Poor Clerks of the Mother of God, wearing a cassock with a leather belt and a short cloak,²⁴ engaged in giving a Christian education to children, principally to poor children.

The Celestial Annunciades, whose habit was a white robe and a cloak of sky-blue,²⁵ engaged in spinning material for corporals and purificators for poor churches. They were founded at Geneva in 1605 by Blessed Maria Vittoria, a holy widow, who, after her five children had consecrated themselves to the service of God, felt herself inspired to found a new religious order and carried out her design with the advice of Father Bernardine Zenon of the Society of Jesus, her confessor.²⁶

Simple confraternities, such as those founded at Rome by a gentleman of Milan, Marco de Sadis Cusani, and at Florence by a silk worker, Ippolito Galantini, powerfully seconded all these efforts, teaching catechism to children and adults.²⁷ From these two confraternities, greatly encouraged by the popes, sprang the Congregation of Christian Doctrine, later allied with the Doctrinarians of France, and an archconfraternity which, erected in St. Peter's Basilica, had the right to free two prisoners every year.²⁸

Far from harming the prosperity of the earlier congregations, this flowering of new institutes only aroused a holy emulation. In the Society of Jesus, which painful blows had just

²² *Ibid.*, plate 34.

²³ He had been drawn to Italy by Marie de Medici in 1601.

²⁴ Hélyot, Vol. IV, plate 61.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, plates 66 and 67.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 248.

shaken, an Italian, Claudius Acquaviva, chosen superior general of the order, by his wisdom and firmness consolidated the work of St. Ignatius and, by the publication of the *Ratio studiorum*, the *Directorium in exercitiis spiritualibus* and the *Industriae ad curandos animae morbos*, infused a sort of new life into the Society.

The Ursulines continued to live in Italy without special habit and without absolute cloister, flowing over into France, Germany, and Austria. The Italian Capuchins gave the Church two ardent missionaries: St. Joseph of Leonessa, the apostle of the Turks, and St. Lorenzo da Brindisi, apostle of the Jews. In the Franciscan third order St. Hyacintha Mariscotti revived the most austere practices of penance of the Fathers of the desert. Foreign scholars passed over the mountains to consult in Italy the learned Barnabite Gavantus, the glory of his order and of the liturgy; and the pious movement that drew souls to frequent Communion had no more ardent promoters than the Italian disciples of St. Philip Neri.²⁹

The Church in Germany

More distant from the center of Christianity and more deeply ravaged by the Protestant heresy, the German countries might be thought to have remained outside the movement of the Catholic renaissance. But such was not the case.

Germany, too, had had its great apostle. Blessed Peter Canisius of the Society of Jesus, who died in 1597 after preaching the gospel in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, had been chiefly a man of action. The earliest office that he held brought him into relation with the two chief universities of Bavaria and

²⁹ On St. Philip Neri's doctrine regarding frequent Communion, see the Bollandists, May, IV, 553. The advocates of frequent and even daily Communion were to be found also in Spain. Such were the Benedictines Chinchilla and Marzilla, the Carthusian Antonio de Molina, and especially Juan Falconi, a Brother of Mercy. See Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, III, 537 f.

Austria; the resources at his disposal as founder and first provincial of his order in Germany; the influence that he soon acquired with the Catholic princes, both secular and ecclesiastical; the part he took in the diets of the Empire; his presence, however short, at the Council of Trent; the various ministries he exercised in the largest cities: all these converged to the same practical end: to develop among the Catholics a movement of active and militant faith, and thus to oppose an effective resistance to Protestantism.³⁰

The political and social state of Germany made this movement difficult. At the beginning of the Thirty Years' War almost all aspects of German life had undergone a complete transformation. The Holy Roman Germanic Empire, even before the outbreak of the war of extermination in the seventeenth century, had lost its eminent political position. The princes established their power on the ruins of the Empire and, to their own advantage, exploited the revolutionary movement of their time and gradually became almost sovereign arbiters of the destinies of the people. Their might had grown steadily in virtue of the Roman law, which was more and more followed. This Caesaropapism was as fatal to religion as it was to popular morals. What could be done to remedy such a state of affairs? An endeavor to re-establish religious unity as far as possible, by working for the conversion of the heretics and by establishing centers of Catholic life in the heart of the Church of Germany.

Two Jesuits, Georg Scherer and Jeremias Drechsel (or Drexelius), in their preaching, continued the apostolic work of Canisius. Said Scherer: "While combating the heretics, we must observe a great moderation. No insults or sarcasm. The archangel St. Michael, according to the apostle St. Jude, did

³⁰ Le Bachelet, art. "Canisius" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.* Pope Leo XIII called Canisius the second apostle of Germany after St. Boniface. (Encyclical of August 1, 1897.) On the work of Canisius, see Janssen, *L'Allemagne et la Réforme*, VII, 86, 576-78.

not use insults even toward Satan." The writings of Drechsel breathed so great a spirit of peace that the Protestants read them for their edification. This was the time when the preacher Johann Arndt, the mildest and most amiable of preachers, employed in the pulpit a sober and practical piety, well calculated to win devout souls.

However, this work of the apostolate could be effective only on condition that Catholic life be revived in its centers. This need was grasped by bishops who, like Johann von Bicken, archbishop of Mainz, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, bishop of Würzburg, were columns of the Church by the example of their lives and by their zeal for the reform of morals. But two notable movements of Catholic renaissance especially merit our attention because they so well sum up, the one the monastic reform and the other the secular reform of the clergy of Germany during the first half of the seventeenth century. We refer to the attempt to form a congregation of all the monasteries of Germany under the Rule of the abbey of Melk and of the undertaking to restore the secular clergy by the congregation of the Bartholomites.

We might say that, since the time of St. Boniface, religious Germany was chiefly the work of the monks. The monastic life, strong and pure, had given life to Germany; when weakened and corrupted, it had brought it to its ruin. But, among the Benedictine abbeys of Germany, one, by the exact observance of the primitive rule, had for several centuries attracted the attention of the men of God. That was the abbey of Melk, or Melk, located in Austria on the Danube, in the diocese of Passau. "Ever since 1460 several German abbots had resolved to join together into a congregation and to embrace the observances of Melk."³¹ The project could be realized then only in part and for a short time. The Protestant Revolt ruined it

³¹ Hélyot, VI, 220. Berlière, "La Réforme de Melk au XVI^e siècle" in the *Revue Bénédictine*, XII, 1895.

from top to bottom. From 1520 to 1587, by the weakness of several abbots, the heretical spirit succeeded in penetrating the monastery. Defections occurred. The faithful monks and the Catholics in general then founded great hopes on the pious and energetic Gaspard Hoffmann, who had received the abbatial crosier in 1587. Those hopes were not deceived. The new abbot, born at Ochsenfurt in Franconia, was a friend of Cardinal Klesl. He re-established discipline, revived studies, led his community back to the spirit of real monastic life. His influence was great. Suzerain of numerous vassals, councillor of the Emperors Rudolf II, Matthias, and Ferdinand II, he enjoyed in Germany a prestige that was almost unique. So when, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, everybody felt the need of a reform, the eyes of all who were zealous for the revival of monastic life turned to Gaspard Hoffmann.

In 1618 six abbots of Austrian abbeys met at Melk, resolved to join together, and drew up constitutions intended for the new congregation. But the troubles that the Protestants stirred up at that time in Bohemia and Austria, then Gaspard Hoffmann's death in 1623, halted the progress of the negotiations. They were resumed shortly afterward, and Reiner von Landau, Hoffmann's successor, had the joy of seeing the Observance of Melk accepted by eleven abbots and formally approved, in 1625, by Urban VIII. Stimulated by this example, the abbot of Fulda five years later conceived the design of uniting by a similar bond all the monasteries of Germany. Two general assemblies, meeting at Ratisbon, drew up the basis of that pious confederation, and procurators were sent to Rome and to the imperial court to obtain the confirmation of the Pope and the Emperor. The Swedish invasion of Germany broke all these plans. From the organizing projected in Germany, apparently nothing remained except the congregation of Salzburg, erected in 1641 and embracing all the monasteries of that diocese: the union of the Austrian monasteries under the Melk Rule seems

not to have lasted beyond 1650. But so many efforts were not without fruit. In 1696 a large number of monasteries were proud to call themselves "of the Union of Melk," and at least followed its spirit; the famous abbey became more and more, according to the expression of its historian, "a nursery of superiors, a seminary of scholars, and an academy of history."³² Unfortunately that golden age was followed by an iron age, when the Josephite despotism tried to enslave the successors of Gaspard Hoffmann to the regime of its narrow bureaucracy.³³

Wholly devoted to the sanctification of the secular clergy, was Bartholomew Holzhauser. This holy priest, born in 1613 at Langnau in the district of Ulm (died at Binden in 1658), was the son of a poor shoemaker. Some charitable persons, who met him when he was a mere boy singing hymns along the roads, had him admitted in a school, then with the Jesuits of Ingolstadt, who taught him philosophy. He was a mystical, contemplative soul, exceedingly fond of silence and peace, and seemingly favored with special supernatural graces. But the fact was discovered that this mystic had a clear view of the evils that afflicted the clergy of his time and was able to find and put in operation the means best suited to cure these evils. The decadence of the secular clergy, who were intended to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world among the people, seemed to him the great evil of his time. He discovered three causes of this evil: idleness, worldly distractions, and the evil use of the goods of the Church. One of his biographers says:

To prevent and to avoid the evils produced by these three disorders, the holy reformer joined with himself a few priests filled with the same spirit. First they asked their bishop for an appointment, placing themselves under his orders, with so great a detachment that they promised him not to have henceforth any other will but his; so that he might dispose of them according as he judged for the good and profit of the

³² Keilblinger, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Mélék*, I, 961.

³³ Cf. Hélyot, VI, 217-24.

faithful. Secondly, they lived together under the guidance of their charitable superior, and that in houses where no women of any sort should be, under any pretext whatever. Thirdly, they placed their ecclesiastical revenues in common, to be employed in works of piety for the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls.³⁴

The constitutions of the new association, drawn up by Holzhauser, were approved by Cardinal San Felice, papal nuncio at Cologne, who used to call them the marrow of the canons of the Church, *medulla canonum*. Pope Innocent XI solemnly confirmed them in 1680. The new society, known thereafter under the name of the Society of the Bartholomites, spread rapidly to the great good of the Church. It was introduced into Hungary about 1676, into Spain and Poland five years later.

The association when established in a diocese always had there three houses. The first contained the aspirants to the ecclesiastical state. They were sent to the public schools to follow the courses of study there, but their moral and religious training was given them in their own house, by the daily practice of meditation, by instructions intended to develop in them the virtues of their state, by the reading of Scripture, Church history, and the lives of the saints, by exercises suitable for training them in liturgical ceremonies and preaching.³⁵

The second house was intended for priests engaged in active service. They placed in a common fund all the income from their offices; but from this fund each one was granted a certain sum for his works of charity and for his parents.

The third house, maintained by annual contributions from the revenues of the second house, received priests who, by reason of age or infirmity, had need of retirement.

The bishop had the right to supervise all the houses of the Institute and to dispose of the priests as he wished. The In-

³⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, 119.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 123 f.

stitute had a president, who must promise special obedience to the pope and who made a yearly visitation of the establishments under his authority. We scarcely need to remark the immense good that such an association accomplished in Germany.

Reasons similar to those which thwarted the union of the German monasteries, later on hindered the zeal of the Bartholomites. Yet even to the end of the eighteenth century we find them in charge of several seminaries, notably in Swabia and Bavaria.³⁶

³⁶ Cf. Gaduel, *Vie de Barthélemy Holzhauser*.

CHAPTER III

The Beginning of the Catholic Reform in France

The First Causes of the Reform

IN 1560 more than half of France was Protestant. Forty years later it was Catholic in its general spirit. Much of this improvement may be traced to the influence of Spain and Italy. The fame of the great saints who had shed luster on those countries during the sixteenth century penetrated into France. The biographies of St. Theresa, St. John of the Cross, and St. Aloysius Gonzaga circulated among the devout faithful. The assemblies of the clergy, concerned with reforming the life of clerics, sought for guidance in the life and writings of St. Charles Borromeo and St. Philip Neri. But these were not the only causes of France's return to Catholicism. In vain Henry IV treated his former coreligionists with utmost consideration. Once the French spirit passed the feverish disturbance that had deranged it in the confusion of the religious strife, it separated from that so-called reformed religion, which had brought it nothing but political anarchy along with the intellectual anarchy.¹ The natural French spirit of order and good sense triumphed over the spirit of plot and intrigue. The moderate reforms of the Council of Trent, which the puritanism of the northern countries considered insufficient and which the Italian epicurism considered too onerous, in France corresponded with the most genuine aspirations of public opinion.

This Catholic movement, however general, lacked that mys-

¹ Strowski, *Saint François de Sales, introduction à l'étude du sentiment religieux en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 1-17.

tical enthusiasm and that interior discontent which the Calvinists had exploited to their advantage in the preceding century. In the case of many Frenchmen it was mingled with politics, the fashion of the moment, and self-interest. For these people, to become Catholic or to remain so, was to profess submission to the traditional dogmas and to a powerful hierarchy, to follow simply the example of the King and the court, to stand on the side of order. With some literary men (e.g., Montaigne), Catholicism was tainted with Epicurism; with others (e.g., Charron and Du Vair), it was tainted with Stoicism. In short, if, in the various impulses that brought souls to the Church, certain tendencies led to the Catholicism of Bossuet and Pascal, others, in spite of appearances, went straight to the naturalism of Jean Jacques Rousseau and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre.²

What influences and new forces would bring about unity and harmony among the various elements that were at work in a more or less hidden manner in these beginnings in the seventeenth century? Those influences and forces are found combined in the person of St. Francis de Sales.

St. Francis de Sales

Everything apparently prepared this great man for his providential mission. Born at Thorens in Savoy in 1567, of a noble family that was attached to Geneva by many family traditions and that counted relatives among the leaders of Geneva Calvinism, Francis de Sales was brought up by his father and his pious mother in the purest principles of Catholic orthodoxy. From his parents he inherited an acute and judicious mind, together with a generous and firm will. His childhood was passed at the foot of those imposing Alps that show their sublimity to those who contemplate them at close range, but that appear full of charm and moderate coolness to those who are sheltered

² Cf. Strowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-50.

in their valleys. His education was that of the cosmopolitan student of the sixteenth century, journeying from university to university, seeking in the different schools the lessons of the teacher who was most celebrated in such or such a branch of knowledge, continually broadening his mind by experience of new manners, faces, and languages.³ From these contacts, St. Francis' religious spirit, without losing any of its fundamental strictness, acquired a quality of humaneness, adaptability, and amiability.

In those days, philosophers and theologians and controversialists regarded God too exclusively as the Author of moral truths or as the Author of the principles of the mind and of the laws of nature. With greater warmth of imagination the mystics had a more living God, but they attributed to Him a curious obscurity and splendor. . . . Francis de Sales did not divest the idea of God of its majesty; he retained God's metaphysical and moral attributes, and His inaccessible perfection, but his image of the Divinity remained amiable and kindly as well as great. His *Treatise on the Love of God* opens with the glorification of beauty. The idea of God, perfect beauty and perfect love, is manifested in the holiness of St. Francis de Sales. This idea dominates his whole life, is the very soul and light of that life.⁴

Before St. Francis' apostolic zeal was exercised at Paris and from there over all France and in many other parts of the world, its first manifestation was in a mission preached to the Protestants of the province of Chablais.

The undertaking was especially arduous. The districts of Thonon and western Chablais which, by the vicissitudes of war, passed into the hands of the Bernese from 1536 to 1564, had been completely won over to the Protestant heresy by their new masters. Rigorous measures which Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, adopted in 1589, had produced only precarious results. St. Francis himself reports that "several people of Thonon

³ E. Faguet, *Le XVI^e siècle en France*, p. 8.

⁴ Strowski, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

and the province of Chablais, frightened by the noise of bombs and guns rather than moved by the sermons that were preached there, returned to the bosom of the Holy Roman Church. But later, when these districts were infested by incursions of the Genevans and French, they went back to their mire.”⁵ In 1594 Bishop Claude Granier of Geneva and Annecy persuaded the Duke of Savoy to approve the project of a peaceful mission that would not appeal to the laws or to force and that would be carried out merely by two priests. The undertaking was a hard one. In consequence of the recent events, an abyss had opened between Catholics and Protestants. The latter obstinately refused to listen to a Catholic preacher or to read any book in defense of the Roman Church. First a bridge must be built across the chasm. Francis de Sales, then twenty-seven years old, was charged with that important undertaking. His character was a wonderful help to him.

Among the Protestants the principal ones he would have to convert were friends of his father and friends of his friends. He was able to maintain cordial relations with these people, and thus their doors were opened to him. Although he was indignant at the public decree forbidding attendance at his sermons, he remained on terms of amiability with the very authors of the decree. He showered them with his courtesies. He found each one's strong and weak point, observing at what point the people's faith wavered, and what hold anyone might be able to get on them. All he asked for was a first success. This he had at the end of eight months.⁶

The conversion of one of the chiefs of the heresy in the country, the lawyer Poncet, which was soon followed by that of Baron d'Avully, president of the consistory, stirred the city of Thonon. The people of the city came, with the syndics at their head, to hear a sermon by the zealous missionary on the subject of the Eucharist. Thenceforth the final success was assured.

⁵ St. Francis de Sales; *Œuvres complètes* (Berche and Tralin ed.), V, 64.

⁶ Strowski, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

Francis had to intervene only to restrain the civil authority of the dukes of Savoy from abusing this triumph and to make sure of the perseverance of the new converts. Then he spread those numerous handwritten leaflets that later formed the famous book entitled *The Catholic Controversy*. Studying the principles common to Catholics and Protestants, and then examining the gaps in the doctrine of the Protestants, he strove gently and firmly to lead the latter back to the full Christian doctrine. Thus *The Catholic Controversy* was a forerunner of Bossuet's *The History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*.

In 1602 our saint went to Paris. Being a prominent personage and having connections with the Guises, the Nemours, the Mercœurs, the Duperrons, even with Henry IV, he soon was able to become acquainted with the religious needs of the society in which he was living. People were Christians, but they left to the monks and hermits the practices of piety. Francis now found the second trait of his apostolate. He would be the apostle of piety, of the devout life, among people of the world. Without in any way inclining to the naturalism of Charron or Montaigne and while jealously defending the supernatural character of the Christian life, he would present it as something so gentle and likeable that people, after his example, would feel, in practicing it, that they were human beings more than anything else.

King Henry IV

The former missionary of the Chablais soon understood, by his dealings with the King, the influence which that ruler was able to exercise in favor of the Church.

Let us glance briefly at the political situation of France at that time. King Henry IV's authority was now undisputed. The Protestants, whom he attached to himself by favors; the sincere Catholics, whom he reassured by the genuineness of

his faith; the patriots, whom he vanquished by his mighty love for France; the courtiers, whom he dazzled by his brilliant mind; the malcontents, whom he disarmed by his wit; the crafty politicians, whom he disconcerted by his direct blows; the court nobility, whom he captivated and at the same time reassured by his frivolity: all were won over to him. The unity of France, which had been endangered in the course of the previous century, was solidified about this alluring Bearnese. Like Archbishop Duperron and the Jesuit Father Cotton, Francis de Sales counted on Henry IV to take up the cause of religion in France. In fact, in the reign of this monarch, as prudent in his public life as he was frivolous in his private life, the Catholic renaissance is outlined: the religious orders start to flourish again, the clergy return to the practice of more regular habits of life, the simple faithful are inspired by more truly Christian maxims.

One of the most important acts of the royal policy in favor of religion was the recall of the Jesuits, who, in spite of the banishment issued against them by the Parliament of Paris,⁷ had not entirely left the kingdom. This act of the King was not accomplished without difficulty.

In the entourage of Henry IV the Society of Jesus encountered strong prejudices. There people recalled that the League had found its warmest partisans among the Jesuits. Though the trial of Jean Châtel (1594) had not produced proof of their complicity in the attempted assassination of Henry IV, four years later a Spanish Jesuit, Mariana, almost glorified the criminal attack of Jacques Clement on the person of Henry III.⁸

⁷ The decree of banishment is dated January 7, 1595. At the same time a Jesuit, Father Guignard, signer of a pamphlet published at the time of the League, had been hanged. As a certain Protestant historian says, "This execution was nothing less than a judicial murder, and the banishment of the Jesuits could not be legally justified. It was not justice, but a blind and furious passion that dictated these two decrees" (Bœhmer-Monod, *Les Jésuites*, p. 93).

⁸ J. Mariana, S.J., *De rege et regis institutione*, published in 1599. In this first edition we find the sentence: *Sic Clemens periit, æternum Galliae decus, ut plerisque*

In the King's mind another cause of suspicion continued against the Society of Jesus. The Huguenots and the politicians had never ceased to picture the Jesuits as entirely devoted to the interests of Spain, whose abasement was then the chief object of the French policy. Father Acquaviva, who was then governing the Society of Jesus with great prudence, decided to undeceive the King of France. On May 29, 1603, two Jesuits, Father Armand and Father Coton, presented themselves in his name at the court of Fontainebleau.

Father Coton, who would soon play an important part at Henry IV's side, was born in 1564, the son of a private secretary of the Queen Mother. He was considered one of the most remarkable preachers of the Society. He had converted to the Catholic religion Madame de Créqui, daughter of Marshal de Lesdiguières. The latter, who would make his abjuration nine years later, had spoken to the King in Father Coton's praise. Everything combined to favor Acquaviva's envoy. "He was at that time forty years old. He had a fine presence, and a face of remarkable beauty: a full forehead, blonde hair and beard, large and somewhat aquiline nose; a friendly smile always on his lips. His affable character and lofty soul presented attractions enhanced by a reflection of serious but kindly holiness."⁹ Presently the King was won by this envoy, whose cause was good. The next Sunday, Father Coton, invited to preach in the royal chapel, there obtained a full success. Thus began the favor which this Jesuit enjoyed at court. Before long he became the King's trusted adviser, as also the spiritual director of the King's conscience. Father Coton, not at all embarrassed by so many honors, bore them with good grace. "Polished man-

visum est. In this work Mariana says that in case of tyranny, if it is impossible to assemble the representatives of the nation and if nevertheless it seems that the will of the people is that the tyrant should be done away with, each private person has the right to slay the prince to satisfy the desires of the people, *qui, votis publicis favens, eum perimere tentat, haudquaquam inique eum fecisse existimabo* (Mariana, *De rege*, p. 60).

⁹ Roverius, *De vita P. Petri Cotonii*, Bk. III, chap. 9.

ners seemed to be born with him. From the moment he entered the court, he appeared as though he had grown up there. The courtiers were amazed that the man of France who most despised the world was the one who knew it best.”¹⁰

A royal edict, published at Rouen (September, 1603), officially recognized all the houses that the Society of Jesus had kept in Guyenne and Languedoc, removed the prohibition that excluded the Society from the rest of France, allowed it to recover its former schools and to found new ones with the previous authorization of the King. This act was regarded as a manifest proof of the high standing which the representative of the Jesuits enjoyed at court. Henry IV's views undoubtedly were not thus limited. By this edict the intelligent monarch wished, not merely to testify his friendliness for a religious whom he was fond of, and to assure himself of the gratitude of a body whose power he was aware of; we have every reason to believe that, being concerned at the decline of studies and morals, he saw in the recall of the Jesuits the surest means of restoring both.

In 1595 he had charged a commission, composed of the highest personages of the Church and the magistracy, to make an inquiry about the means to raise the level of morals and studies in the University of Paris. Abuses were increasing there. In the colleges, what had lately served as barracks for foreign regiments and as asylums for the peasants of Île de France, in the Latin quarter, filled with musicians, thugs, and actors, corruption and disorder were at their height. “The candidates, without taking any examinations, but by paying the bedels and registrars, had their names entered in the register of graduates and, by force of money, obtained their diplomas.”¹¹ Quite different was the discipline in the Jesuit schools. There the harmony, desired by so many noble souls, between

¹⁰ D'Orléans, *La vie du P. Coton*, p. 225.

¹¹ Mariéjol in Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, VI, II, 98.

the Christian spirit of the Middle Ages and the humanist culture of the Renaissance, seemed to be permanently assured. Perhaps nobody labored so effectively as did the fathers of the celebrated Society, in preparing for the literary splendors of the great century. They abandoned the compilations of the Middle Ages and their barbarous Latin, for the great writers of antiquity. But the ancients were not studied for their own sake, as interpreters of an abolished paganism. From them were asked only some rules in the art of writing, only some models of a literary and grammatical culture. In these schools, enclosed indeed, but with nothing of a prison except the gates, the teacher mingled in the games of the boys, and entered into their confidences. A warm and sincere affection existed between the professors and the pupils. Brilliant youth, recruited from the nobility and the upper bourgeoisie, came forth every year from these schools, trained in good manners, instructed in the practices of the world, their memory adorned with beautiful verses and elegant quotations, at the same time that they were ready to receive and joyfully follow the direction of the Society and the teachings of Rome. The Society was soon more powerful and flourishing than ever. In 1610 it already counted in its four French provinces, 36 colleges, 5 novitiates, 1 professed house, 1 mission, with about 1,400 members. Its schools were attended by larger numbers than before: the largest school, La Flèche, founded by Henry IV, had 1,200 pupils. The Institute, by the middle of the century, counted 84 colleges and 64 other houses with more than 4,000 collaborators.

Father Coton profited by the King's high esteem for him to serve the cause of the Church the best he could. For six years, on each Sunday and feast day he preached at court, which never missed hearing his word, the most austere truths of dogma and morals. Undoubtedly we should credit to Father Coton's influence with the King certain events and happenings: Henry IV's serious effort in 1608 to bring his private conduct

into harmony with his faith, the severe edict published in 1609 against dueling, the steps taken with the Grand Turk for the liberation of Christian prisoners, the King's fruitful solicitude for the development of the foreign missions, lastly his deferential and respectful attitude toward the papacy in the various agitations that troubled Italy.¹² Likewise when the fact became known that Henry IV, in delicate gratitude, decided to bequeath his heart to the Jesuit college of La Flèche, nobody was surprised. Louis XIII, who for two years received lessons in religion from Father Coton, preserved the same esteem for him and kept him as his confessor until 1617, when the zealous Jesuit left the court and journeyed through the provinces as a missionary. He died at Paris on March 19, 1626, after worthily fulfilling the important mission that Providence had entrusted to him for the good of the Church in France.

The Institute of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin

No one rejoiced over the success of the Society of Jesus more than St. Francis de Sales. When he was barely fifteen years old, he begged his mother to send him to the Jesuit college, where, he said, "he would learn the sciences and the way to heaven both together."¹³ Later, when he had become Bishop of Geneva, he wrote to his priests: "We would have all been lost if the divine goodness did not raise up the fathers of the Company of Jesus, those mighty souls, those great men, who have tireless courage, intrepid zeal, and profound knowledge; who, in spite of calumnies and insults, have re-established the

¹² We see in Father Coton's correspondence that concern over the conduct of the King never left him. He writes (January 20, 1609) to Father Acquaviva: "Thanks to the blessing of the Sovereign Pontiff, the King has put his conscience in order. Of the two persons who were the objects of his unlawful pleasures, one is thinking seriously of withdrawing to a solitary life, the other has been sent away to a distant castle."

¹³ Hamon-Gonthier-Letourneau, *Vie de saint François de Sales*, I, 35.

true faith; and who, by their great labors, still fill the world with learned men, exterminating heresy everywhere.”¹⁴

The Bishop of Geneva did more than applaud the good accomplished by existing congregations. At the time he wrote the lines just quoted, he had endowed the Church with a new institute, that of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin. For a long time he had remarked that a considerable number of souls, called to the perfection of divine love in the religious life, were unable to gratify their desire. Almost all convents imposed bodily austerities that could not be endured by persons with delicate health.¹⁵ Could these austerities not be replaced by a mortification within the reach of all, that of the spirit, of the heart, and of the will? Francis de Sales explained his plan to a holy woman, whom Providence had placed under his spiritual direction, Jane Frances Frémyot, widow of Baron de Chantal. He found in her the same interior aspirations. On June 6, 1610, the feast of the Holy Trinity and of St. Claude, Baroness de Chantal and two ladies of rank, Charlotte de Brécard and Jacqueline Favre, received from the holy Bishop an abridgment of the constitutions of the new institute. They began their novitiate in a modest house at Annecy, a house known as La Galerie, a name that has been religiously preserved in the memories of the Order of the Visitation.

The saint did not at first intend to found a religious order. To organize an association of charity, like the one founded shortly before by St. Frances of Rome at Tor di Specchi, without solemn vows, without cloister, without recitation of the large Office, with the right to accept pious widows and even married women who would desire to withdraw for a while and devote some time to prayer far from the tumult of the world: such was his first project.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 500.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 1.

¹⁶ See D'Avrigny, *Mémoires*, I, 62; Hamon, II, 84.

But Archbishop Marquemont of Lyons, to whom he referred his plan, having been of the opinion that a real religious order should be founded, with absolute cloister and solemn vows, the saint humbly abandoned his own view. He later said to the Bishop of Belley: "I have been called the founder of the Visitation. But nothing is more unreasonable than to give me this title. I did what I had not intended to do; and I failed to do what I intended." But in fact his main idea survived: to give to God souls of prayer, fully devoted to the perfection of divine love, without the burden of too onerous bodily practices. As to the rather unusual form, freer and more adaptable, that could wait for its hour, which would come later.

The new institute spread so rapidly that St. Jane de Chantal had the consolation, before her death, to see 87 Visitation houses founded in France and Savoy. For this flock blessed by God, the saint, during the years that followed, gave the best of his heart and of his doctrine in the conferences that have been piously collected by his spiritual daughters.

St. Francis de Sales and the Reform of the Clergy

However agreeable these consolations might be to the heart of St. Francis, they could not make him forget the important decrees published by the Council of Trent in regard to the reform of the secular clergy. Apart from the influence which the example of his life exercised upon his priests, by his conferences and correspondence he strove to make use of two means indicated by the council: the holding of diocesan synods and the organization of seminaries. We have the collection of the synodal statutes published by the Bishop of Geneva; they are short and substantial. Whatever concerns the observance of residence, the celebration of the Divine Offices, the proper condition of the church edifices, and the private lives of clerics, is indicated clearly and precisely.¹⁷

¹⁷ Cf. Hamon, I, 493.

The holy Bishop did not content himself with this. . . . He was assiduous in watching over the observance of his ordinances. Once every six months twenty overseers, who were later called archpriests, made a report to him about what had happened in their respective districts. If in this report someone was specifically mentioned as disregarding the regulations, the Bishop then promptly recalled him to the path of duty with gentle firmness. Hence arose the widespread conviction that nothing escaped his vigilance. Thus the Bishop succeeded in establishing good order throughout his diocese.¹⁸

The holy prelate was never able to have a seminary. Even his persevering efforts met with failure. Sometimes funds were lacking; sometimes a suitable personnel was wanting. When the Holy See was requested to authorize an assessment on the benefices as a means of meeting the expense, no reply was given.¹⁹ Cardinal de Berulle, when urged to furnish subjects, was unable to send them. Francis de Sales then did what he could to supplement the lack of a seminary. He himself studied the dispositions and aptitudes of the young men who presented themselves to him to receive holy orders. He himself acquainted them with the ecclesiastical duties, animated them by his exhortations, and often, notwithstanding his extensive labors, even heard their confessions. The fruits of such zeal were marvelous. At St. Francis' process of canonization, St. Jane de Chantal declared: "I think that few dioceses can be found where the clergy live in a more devout and exemplary manner than in the diocese of Geneva and especially in the city of Annecy." ²⁰

These good results spread beyond the diocese governed by St. Francis de Sales. France, where the holy Bishop often preached, benefited to a great extent. Henry IV, who was particularly fond of him and who, in the words of the amiable saint, "when he became a sheep of the great Shepherd, planned

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 496.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 506.

to make himself the shepherd of his people,"²¹ did everything possible to keep Francis de Sales in France. Five times he repeated the attempt. But Francis declined the most insistent offers. Yet he profited by the confidence that the King showed toward him to arouse the monarch's zeal. The Church had, in general, good reason to rejoice at Henry IV's good will in the work of the reform of the clergy. In 1606, replying to an address by the Assembly of the Clergy, he promised to fill the prelaties, abbacies, and other benefices subject to his appointment,²² with none but "persons of merit, fitness, and requisite talent." He said: "I am proud to see that those I have appointed are quite different from those of the past; the account of them which you have given me increases my courage to do better in the future." In spite of several regrettable appointments,²³ Henry IV almost fully kept his word and prepared for the reform which all good Catholics were demanding.

When the holy Bishop of Geneva was working so zealously for the reform of religious life and priestly life, he was thinking of the Christian people. From the outset of his ministry his far-seeing mind grasped the lacuna then existing in the popular teaching of devotion. His view was expressed in an outspoken way when he wrote: "Almost all that have hitherto treated of devotion have had in view the instruction of persons wholly retired from the world, or have taught a kind of devotion leading to this absolute retirement."²⁴ He had a high esteem for *The Spiritual Combat* and Father De Grenade's *La guide des pécheurs*, and the great works of St. Theresa. But he thought

²¹ Letter 600, *Œuvres complètes* (Mackey ed.), XIV, 309.

²² By virtue of the concordat of 1516, the king of France nominated to bishoprics and major benefices.

²³ Charles de Lévis, in 1604 nominated to the bishopric of Lodève, was only four years old, and Henry IV took the matter so lightly as to joke about it (letter of October 24, 1605, to Maria de Medici). At the death of Charles of Lorraine, bishop of Metz, in 1607, the scandal was even greater. The King asked the chapter to "postulate" for the appointment to the see his bastard son Henri de Verneuil, six years old.

²⁴ *Introduction to the Devout Life*, Pref.

that the first two works just mentioned were too absolute in their principles, more suitable for the cloister or for a pious confraternity than for secular life in the world of modern times. The great mystical flights of the holy founder of Carmel seemed to St. Francis unsuited for those good people that he had become acquainted with in his missions in the Chablais, indeed even for the good bourgeoisie that he often visited and for the King's court, where he had been admitted. He considered that "it is an error, or rather a heresy, to say that devotion is incompatible with the life of a soldier, a tradesman, a prince, or a married woman."²⁵ If man is too often a sharp and bitter animal, let devotion be the sugar to sweeten him.²⁶

In this spirit and with a view to dissipating that unsound notion of a "sad, contentious, fretful, censorious virtue, on a rock off by itself, amid briers, a phantom to scare people,"²⁷ St. Francis de Sales wrote his *Introduction to the Devout Life*. But his purpose was also to inculcate in people of the world a more solid and more profound devotion, which by effort and sacrifice goes even to the complete renovation of the heart.

In short, the saint asks three things of his readers: examination of conscience, meditation, and the conscientious practice of the duties of their state. Examination of conscience dissipates paralyzing prejudices and opens the eyes to that quantity of sins that live and often rule in our soul without our noting their presence.²⁸ Meditation brings vividly before us God, the Blessed Virgin, the saints, the views of the future life, the most potent ideas and models of virtue and perfection. It teaches us to reflect upon those ideas and images until we succeed in saturating ourselves with them, penetrating ourselves with them, and nourishing ourselves on them.²⁹ The practice of the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Bk. I, chap. 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Bk. III, chap. 39.

²⁷ Montaigne, *Essays*, I, 176.

²⁸ *Introduction to the Devout Life*, Bk. II, chap. 19.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Bk. I, chaps. 9-18.

duties of our state, especially of the lesser duties, makes devotion enter, not only our mind and heart, but our life; it turns a good act into a habit; and gradually from little things the soul rises to great things, to heroism and, if need be, even to martyrdom.

The doctrine of *The Introduction to the Devout Life* is supplemented by that of the *Treatise on the Love of God*. The author declares that, in writing this book, he has "taken into consideration the state of the minds of this age: it much imports to remember in what age we are writing."³⁰ But his doctrine is an ancient one, which he adapts and rejuvenates.

The work opens with a rather dry description of the faculties of the soul. But, as soon as the author begins to speak about the love of God, of that deep inclination which, from the midst of things of earth, raises us powerfully toward the divine realities, his style takes on loftiness, color and warmth, and we understand his words written to Mother de Chantal (February 5, 1610): "I am about to start writing the book, *The Love of God*, and I will try to write it on my heart as I commit it to paper."³¹ He says:

Among partridges, often some of them steal the eggs of others to hatch them. . . . Note this curious fact: the partridge that is hatched and fed under the wings of a strange partridge, at the first cry that it hears from its real mother leaves the robber partridge and goes to its first mother and follows her by the relationship it has with its first origin. . . . The same is true, Theotimus, with our heart. Although it may be hatched, nourished, and brought up amid bodily, low, and transitory things and, so to speak, under the wings of Nature, yet at its first glance upon God, at the first knowledge it receives, the natural and first inclination to love God, which may have been slumbering and imperceptible, awakes at once.

Love, then, is the starting point for the ascent of the soul toward God; and at the summit is love. To describe this ad-

³⁰ *A Treatise on the Love of God*, Pref.

³¹ Letter 572, *Œuvres complètes*, XIV, 247.

vance toward perfection, the holy doctor has therefore only to describe the advance of love. Books II, III, and IV are devoted to relating the birth, progress, and decline of divine love. The next five books describe the exercises or practice of this love. The last three show the excellence of the love of God and give some counsels for progress in it.

Whatever the most eminent mystics have said about the mysterious sense that makes us perceive the divine, about the highest states of prayer—quietude, union, rapture, and ecstasy—St. Francis sets forth in this book in clear and agreeable language, sometimes marked with deep feeling.

Higher than the senses or reason or faith, St. Francis mentions a “certain eminence or supreme point of the reason and spiritual faculty, which is not guided by the light of argument or reasoning, but by a simple view of the understanding and a simple movement of the will, by which the spirit bends and submits to the truth and the will of God.”³² Let the soul abandon itself to this inclination, and God will attach Himself to it by the sweetest bonds.

See, I beseech you, Theotimus, this little child cleaving to the breast and neck of his mother; if one offer to take him thence to lay him in his cradle, it being high time, he struggles and disputes as far as he is able, in order not to leave that beloved bosom, and if he is made to let go with one hand, with the other he grapples, and if he is carried quite off, he falls a weeping. . . . So the soul that by the exercise of union has come as far as to be taken and fastened to the divine goodness, can hardly be drawn from it save by force and with much pain.³³

The divine love can even reach such a degree

that this holy fire wastes and consumes their life. . . . When the fervor of holy love is great, it gives so many assaults to the heart, so often it wounds it, causes it so many languors, melts it so habitually, and puts it so frequently into ecstasies and raptures, that by this means

³² *A Treatise on the Love of God*, Bk. I, chap. 12.

³³ *Ibid.*, Bk. VII, chap. 3.

the soul, almost entirely occupied in God, not being able to afford sufficient assistance to nature to effect digestion and nourish itself properly, the animal and vital spirits begin little by little to fail, life is shortened, and death takes place. O God! Theotimus, how happy this death is! ³⁴

Thus he who, in the delicacy of his psychology and the charm of his style, has been called "the Montaigne and the Amyot of spirituality," ³⁵ seems at times to presage the magnificence of Bossuet and the pathos of Pascal. But he does not keep his reader long in abstract heights. A delightful comparison or a familiar proverb promptly brings the reader back to the realities of daily life. And the end which the holy doctor intended is reached. Thanks to him and his disciples, henceforth workmen and courtiers will have no difficulty in becoming acquainted with the various degrees of the spiritual life. While De Berulle, Rancé, Bourdoise, Vincent de Paul, and Olier labor to regenerate the regular and secular clergy, laymen of all ranks will join with priests and bishops to form one of the most wonderful associations of zeal and piety that have appeared in modern times, the Company of the Blessed Sacrament.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 10.

³⁵ Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, I, 215.

CHAPTER IV

Reform of the Clergy in France

The Regular Clergy

IN spite of the great efforts made since the Council of Trent, the monastic state at the beginning of the seventeenth century was still far short of its early fervor. The cloisters, formerly the depositaries of the most eminent virtues, were now scarcely inhabited by anyone but indolent, ignorant men, lovers of good cheer. And such were by no means the worst to be found there. Many were given to shameful excesses. Complaints of this state of affairs were often brought to Louis XIII. The King himself one day, when he was hearing Mass at Marmoutiers Abbey near Tours in 1619, was disedified by the conduct of the monks, who had so little of the Christian spirit that the respect due to the royal majesty failed to remind them of the respect they owed to the divine Majesty. Henry de Gondi (Cardinal de Retz, bishop of Paris, and head of the royal council) took the occasion to tell the King that he could do nothing more worthy of his piety and agreeable to God than to re-establish discipline in the monasteries which had lost it and that, if the matter should be placed in the hands of Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld, they might hope for good results.¹

Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld

In the number of persons close to the King, among the members of the higher clergy none was more able to undertake this difficult task than Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld. Born in 1558,

¹ D'Avrigny, *Mémoires*, I, 152. The monastery of the Great Augustinians de Paris had become the fable of Paris and France. In 1638 Father Olier, charged with making a visitation of the monastery of La Régripière, found the door closed and had to spend the night in a shed. Faillon, *Vie de M. Olier*, I, 242. On July 8 of the same year Richelieu asked the King for three regiments to establish order among the Carmelites.

he had the good fortune, during a journey in Italy, to see St. Charles Borromeo; the memory of his conversations with that great man of God remained deeply impressed on his soul. Owing to his instigation, following the States General of 1614, the Assembly of the Clergy adopted a resolution to receive and observe, as far as they could, the canons of the Council of Trent.² Courage was needed for such an initiative since the explicit attitude of the King and of Parliament, although they favored the reform of the clergy, was against receiving the decrees of Trent. But the Cardinal's energy was equal to his piety. The consideration of these qualities prompted Pope Gregory XV to charge him, by a brief of April 8, 1622, to labor for the reform of the monasteries of France. King Louis XIII, to give him the more authority, conferred on him the title of minister of state. The Cardinal, foreseeing that his new duties would hinder his habitual residence in his diocese, and wishing to give an example of conformity to the rules of the Church, resigned his bishopric of Senlis and devoted his whole time to the promotion of the reforms. By letters patent (July 11, 1622), the King added to him a commission of bishops and magistrates to help him by their knowledge and to lend him the force of their influence if that should be needed. He himself formed a council composed of a Carthusian, a Benedictine, a Jesuit, a Feuillant, a Dominican, a Minim, and a few other persons of well-known virtue. On March 11, 1623, he drew up the regulations that he judged necessary to propose to the monasteries he would have to reform.

The work encountered various obstacles and difficulties. The Cardinal began the reform with the monastery of St. Etienne du Mont, of which he was abbot. To overcome the opposition of some of the monks, he brought to the monastery a dozen canons of St. Vincent of Senlis, men whose tried virtue was well known. Then he resigned his office of abbot and let the

² *Ibid.*, I, 212.

community choose as his successor a monk of edifying life. Thus regular life was gradually re-established there.

The reform was harder at Clairvaux and Cîteaux. More than 3,000 monks were living there in utter disregard of any monastic ideal. "Those lands that formerly were so fertile in fruits of holiness, now produced nothing but thorns. All the branches of the great monastic tree felt the corruption of the root."³ In 1625, the almost simultaneous death of Denis Largentier, abbot of Clairvaux, and of Nicholas Boucherat, abbot of Cîteaux, both of them favorable to the reform, precipitated the crisis. Four years earlier Abbot Denis, with good intentions but not without some pressure, had his nephew Claude Largentier elected. The latter, contrary to the expectations of his uncle, began by giving assurances to the foes of the reform. Fifteen young monks, full of zeal for the restoration of monastic life, attacked the election of the new abbot. But a certain number of the older monks, less eager for a reform that would be contrary to their inveterate habits and unfortunately more accredited at Rome and at Versailles, took the Pope and the King by surprise. They calumniated their young confreres who, they said, practiced abstinence during the day and "turned the roasting spit during the night." They succeeded in having revoked a decision that Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld had given for the good of Clairvaux and in having Claude Largentier's election confirmed. The Cardinal's persevering efforts finally introduced a mitigated reform in the monastery.

At Cîteaux, by intrigue and pressure, Peter de Nivelles, who favored the abuses, was elected abbot. Twenty-eight monks, with the backing of Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld, appealed to the Pope, asking for the revocation of the election. Rome merely reduced the authority of Peter de Nivelles: the abbot's jurisdiction over the convents of women, particularly over Port Royal, was taken from him. "These houses did not recover the spirit

³ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

of St. Benedict and St. Bernard, but at least licentiousness was banished from the place. Although the woods consecrated by the penance of those famous patriarchs and their early disciples did not once more become the object of public veneration, at least they ceased to be the retreat of those satyrs whose indecency alarmed the neighborhood.”⁴

The Trappists

Among the other reforms of religious orders,⁵ that of La Trappe by Abbot Rancé deserves special mention. Jean Armand le Bouthillier de Rancé is one of the most representative men of the period we are speaking of. His youth had all the ardor of the man of the Renaissance; his maturity and old age had almost the austerity of the Jansenist. In no man of that time was the reaction against the naturalism of the sixteenth century more emphatically evident. This son of a president of the *Chambre des Comptes*, nephew of a superintendent of finance and of two bishops, and godson of Cardinal Richelieu, at first dazzled the world by the brilliance of his mind and the luxury of his worldly life. Hunting, various other pleasures, schemes, studies; Rancé indulged in them all at the same time, and he excelled in them all.

But the death of certain persons very dear to him suddenly opened his eyes to the frivolity of human pleasures and the instability of human greatness. The thought of eternity seized him and never again left him. “All the little reasons that have been offered to lower Rancé’s resolution vanish before this idea of eternity; it rises up and results from his whole life and his whole soul.”⁶ Thereafter the perfection of the Christian

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁵ We should mention the reform of the Order of the Premonstratensians by Servet de la Ruelle, that of the Feuillants by Jean de la Barrière, that of Cluny by Richelieu, that of the Abbey of Sept-Fons by Eustache de Beaufort, and that of the Penitents of the Third Order of St. Francis, which occurred rather in a spontaneous manner.

⁶ Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, IV, 46.

life appeared to him in the monastic rule, and the monastic rule appeared to him as a continual crucifixion; he thinks of monks who would have "the mortification of the Crucified, the holiness of the apostles, and the purity of the angels." ⁷

Following a solitary sojourn on his Véretz estate and a consultation with weighty men, among them Pavillon, bishop of Alet, and Caulet, bishop of Pamiers, he took a courageous resolve, gave all his possessions to the poor, resigned his benefices, kept for himself only the abbey of La Trappe in the province of Perche, and retired there with the desire to establish the most complete reform. At that abbey he made his profession (June 26, 1664), changed his title of commendatory abbot for that of regular abbot. Then he undertook gradually to establish at La Trappe the most austere practices, manual labor, silence, and vigils. He cut off from his monastery whatever did not conform to the most rigorous poverty and was himself the first to bind himself to the life of penance which he imposed on the others.

This great change and the hospitality which the zealous reformer established in his abbey attracted ecclesiastics and people of the world from all directions to this wilderness. People came out of curiosity, out of a desire for edification and for recollection, during a few days of retreat, from the tumult of the world and the burdens of business affairs. Bossuet went there eight times, sometimes by himself, sometimes with some one of his friends, such as Bishop de la Broue of Mirepoix, Abbé Fleury, Abbé de Langle, Abbé de Langeron. There might also be seen Marshal Bellefonds and King James II of England. So great was the impression which it made on them all, that they talked about it at court and in the city.

The most opposed parties endeavored to attract the new reform to themselves. Jansenists, Benedictines, Jesuits, all introduced into their controversies the name of Rancé. But he,

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

by the purity of his faith, rose above all these disputes. Bossuet wrote as follows: "I shall express my view of La Trappe with complete frankness, as a man who has no other view than that God may be glorified in the holiest house that is in the Church, and in the life of the most perfect director of souls in the monastic life that has been known since St. Bernard. If the story of this holy personage is not written by an able hand and by a head that is above things of earth, it will all go bad. Every party will want to draw the holy abbot to itself. Simplicity should be the only ornamentation of his history." "All I can say of him is that he is another St. Bernard in doctrine, in piety, in mortification, in humility, in zeal, and in the practice of penance; posterity will reckon him among the restorers of monastic life."

New Congregations

Alongside the old reformed orders, several new congregations were founded in France. In the early years of the century Jeanne de Lestonnac, a niece of Montaigne, instituted at Bordeaux the Congregation of the Daughters of Notre Dame for the education of girls. It was confirmed by a brief of Paul V (April 7, 1607). About the same period, at Paris, a woman of the highest virtue, Madame Acarie de Villemar, after taking an intimate part in whatever good was being done in the capital, introduced into France, with the help of Father de Berulle, the Order of the Carmelites. Then, aided by one of her friends, Madame de Sainte-Beuve, and by a young lady of Avignon, Françoise de Bermond, she promoted the diffusion in France of the institute of the Ursulines. Another congregation, for the Christian instruction of girls, was established at Mattaincourt, thanks to the zeal of St. Peter Fourier and Alix Leclerc: this was the congregation of Canonesses of Notre Dame, which, before the end of the century, counted more than eighty houses in France, Lorraine, Germany, and Savoy. All these works

were but the continuation and extension of the movement of reform that we studied in the sixteenth century. With St. John Eudes, Adrien Bourdoise, Father de Berulle, St. Vincent de Paul, and Jean Jacques Olier, we find ourselves in the presence of more original creations quite characteristic of this time.

The Secular Clergy

Solidly constituted in the state, from the social and political standpoints, the secular clergy of France in the first years of the seventeenth century were, from the religious point of view, in a situation no less deplorable than the regular clergy of the monasteries.

The clergy of France (i.e., both regular and secular) were the largest landowners of the kingdom. Their wealth cannot be reckoned precisely. But, from the reports of the inquiry commissioners of 1663, we learn that the revenues of the clergy far exceeded those of the nobility in each district. And the clergy managed their great possessions well. A whole financial administration—receiver general, provincial and diocesan receivers and controllers, about 700 officers—was at its service and was responsible only to it. When the clergy borrowed money, they did so on good terms. More honest than the king, their credit was better.⁸

In 1675 the provost of Paris, in a speech, thanked them for the exactitude of their payments. That same year, in the midst of the war with Holland, the King himself, acknowledging the *don gratuit* of 4,500,000 livres which the Assembly of the Clergy had just voted for him,⁹ expressed his thanks in the warmest terms “to this first body of the realm.”

The clergy, besides being a great social power, also constituted a real political order. They were represented in dealings with the king by the Assembly of the Clergy, which met

⁸ Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 390.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

every five years to vote a contribution. In the interval between these meetings, two "general agents of the clergy" had entered into the council of the parties to present petitions there, and into the parliament in every case in which the clergy was a civil party.

In consequence of this high social and political position of the clergy, they had a considerable influence. "They had support in the great and middle-class families from which they were recruited. Thousands of peasants cultivated their lands. They were the feudal judge of whatever was dependent on their domains." ¹⁰ Multitudes of beggars held out their hands at the doors of the houses of the clergy and lived on their alms.

In this temporal preponderance, the Church had found a cause of spiritual decadence. The nomination of the bishops and of the incumbents of the big benefices was, in fact, in the king's hands. Henry IV was careful not to appoint persons notoriously ignorant and scandalous, but he chose them too exclusively among the great lords; and the nobility, feudal or financial, of the robe or of the sword, was accustomed to consider the goods of the Church as the hope of their younger sons, the natural appanage of the great fortunes, or the helpful providence of the ruined houses. Bishop Cospéan of Lisieux said in 1614: "Bishoprics were sometimes given to young children who were still in their nurse's arms or were schoolboys. They were bestowed on men who had nothing ecclesiastical about them except the garb. Often the king assigned pensions out of the revenues of bishoprics and benefices, as he might have done out of the general funds of the state." ¹¹ And these great lords, these high bourgeois, who had become prelates by the royal will, continued, in their dioceses, when perchance they resided there, to enjoy good cheer, hunting, and living in the midst of worldly pleasures. The evil was so universal, so deep-

¹⁰ Lavissee, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Part II, p. 376.

rooted, that it no longer provoked scandal. The political and social aspect of the episcopate so veiled its sacred character from the eyes of the best, that at the time of admitting a child to the ecclesiastical state, the question of vocation was almost never asked. A significant instance of this procedure is the way the pious Gondi family, when St. Vincent de Paul exercised so religious an influence there, decided upon the entrance of one of their sons, the future Cardinal de Retz, into sacred orders. "When his elder brother, who was destined for the Church, was slain by accident in 1622, the family at once changed their plans with regard to the younger son, and decided that he should be a priest, to receive the 'succession'—the word is perhaps a little rude, but we find no other—of his grand-uncle, then of his two uncles, successively bishop and archbishop of Paris." ¹² Almost fifty years later Cardinal de Retz wrote in his famous *Mémoires*: "I do not believe there was in the world a better heart than that of my father, and I can say that his character was most virtuous; yet my duels and my gallantries did not at all hinder him from making every effort to attach to the Church a soul that was perhaps the least ecclesiastical in the world."

The situation of the lower clergy was scarcely better. Poor they certainly were, these curés on allowance, these parish priests whom high tithe-owners pressed, sometimes reducing them to beggary to the profit of lay commendatories and of court prelates. But indigence is not more moral than is opulence. We know, from the life of St. Vincent de Paul, that two of his priests sent him two memorials on the state of the clergy at Paris and in Brittany. The question is about benefice-holders who have been obliged to agree "that they have long lived in disorders," "that they have kept for themselves large sums belonging to the Church," "that they have held incompatible benefices," "that they have never given religious instruction

¹² E. de Broglie, *Saint Vincent de Paul*, p. 79.

to their parishioners." In certain dioceses "for anyone to go to confession on feast days was unheard of; only one priest could be obtained to preach the Lenten sermons in five or six parishes widely separated, and in certain entire dioceses scarcely a single country ecclesiastic could be found who dressed in black, most of them being dressed in gray and working after their Masses like laymen."¹³

From where could the reform of such abuses come? From the papacy? In a country whose King obstinately refused, in spite of the urging of the clergy, to receive the decrees of Trent, where the parliaments daily complained of the "encroachments" of the court of Rome, where the provost of the merchants forbade any clerics to introduce any innovation in the ecclesiastical policy without the King's permission, under penalty of having their temporalities seized,¹⁴ the action of the papacy was fettered. From the episcopate? But in 1625, out of 127 heads of dioceses in France, about ten were of such morals or reputation that any idea of reforming others was out of the question.¹⁵ Of the rest, some, having become rich landowners and high lords by their prelacies, had enough to do in their litigations against their vassals and tenants; the others held public offices that were incompatible with residence in their sees or even with their sacred character. The sovereign, who refused to receive the reform canons of the Council of Trent, seemed ill suited to intervene, as he had done by the Ordinances of Blois and of Paris in 1579 and 1624, to effect a reform in the Church. Furthermore, under a power like the absolute monarchy, that was essentially conservative, evidently nobody could hope to destroy the age-old institutions in which the evil had its chief source. The principal obstacles to the reform of the clergy came from the ecclesiastical feudalism. From what

¹³ Abelly, *Vie de Saint Vincent de Paul*, Bk. II, chap. 5.

¹⁴ D'Avrigny, *op. cit.*, I, 230.

¹⁵ Alfred Rébelliau, "Un épisode de l'hist. religieuse du XVII^e siècle" in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1903, p. 542.

source would the desired reform come? Devout men who were trying to find a cure for these ills observed that institutions have an influence through the spirit with which they are applied rather than through their legal form. These men did not try to upset the outward structure of the Church of France; they strove to insinuate into it a new spirit, thanks to which the harmful institutions would perhaps later fall of themselves. Richelieu, with a deep political sense, had grasped this truth. In his political testament he wrote: "A bishop ought especially be humble and charitable; he ought to have knowledge and piety, firm courage and an earnest zeal for the Church and for the salvation of souls."

What Richelieu perceived particularly in political matters, the holy priests of that period—Condren, Ender, Bourdoise, Vincent de Paul, Olier—felt in the depth of their apostolic souls. The means of inspiring the ecclesiastical body with this spirit of humility, charity, knowledge, piety, and zeal, which the great minister considered urgently necessary, these priests thought must consist of various works and institutions, chiefly the establishing of seminaries for the training of priests according to the prescriptions of the Council of Trent.

The reform of the clergy of France in the seventeenth century took place around four principal centers: the Oratory, St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, St. Lazare, and St. Sulpice. In the Oratory the promoters of this great movement were Father de Berulle and Father de Condren by their influence over their disciples and the lofty idea of the priesthood which they were able to impart. But, as a result of various circumstances, their personal work was limited to the founding of seminaries within the Oratory, intended for the training of its own candidates. At St. Nicholas du Chardonnet the austere Bourdoise was convinced that the urgent work was the foundation of diocesan clerical schools; but, in his scrupulous respect for the hierarchy, he founded only a parish seminary. At St. Lazare the zealous

Vincent de Paul, to whose soul every physical and moral suffering appealed, never lost sight of the essential work of the reform of the clergy, and he devoted to it all the time which the more urgent demands of charity left him. In this sphere his chief work was the founding of retreats for those preparing for ordination. Lastly, Jean Jacques Olier, a disciple and friend of these holy priests, directed by Condren, stimulated by Bourdoise, encouraged by Vincent de Paul, impelled especially by interior supernatural inspirations, founded at Vaugirard, then at St. Sulpice, the first major seminary properly so called.

The Oratory

Pierre de Berulle, born February 4, 1575, of an ancient and illustrious family of Champagne, pursued his studies at the college of Bourgogne, then at the Jesuit college of Clermont. His teachers declared they never saw a more vigorous mind, a sounder judgment, and a more tender devotion. The young man, at the close of his studies, when he returned home to his widowed mother, wrote the following resolutions, which thereafter remained the invariable rules of his whole life: "Every night and every morning and often in the course of the day I will renew my desire to tend to the greatest perfection and to overcome all obstacles I may encounter. . . . I will humble myself in everything. . . . I will not greatly regard my elevations of mind, however sublime, if, apart from them, I am not more prompt than before in the work of virtue and self-denial."

In 1599, after an austere forty days' retreat with the Capuchins on rue St. Jacques, he was ordained a priest. Everything in his outward relations and likewise in his aspirations to the perfect life seemed to incline the pious young man to embrace the religious life: the Jesuits had been his teachers; a Carthusian, Dom Beaucousin, was his spiritual director; a Capuchin,

Father Pacifique, was his friend and the confidant of his soul. But, he said, "although I have a high regard for all the established congregations, none of them accords with my spirit of grace or my spirit of nature." Upon the advice of Dom Beau cousin and Father Magius, provincial of the Jesuits, whom he consulted, Pierre de Berulle asked only for the priesthood, reserving his freedom to follow, at the proper time, the designs of Providence.

One day two years later, while he was reciting the Divine Office, the young priest felt deeply moved upon reading this verse of Psalm 9: "Declare His ways among the Gentiles." When he related this impression to a certain Carmelite nun, Mother Madeleine of St. Joseph, who was experienced in the ways of the spiritual life, she said: "I see great things in what you have just told me."

Father de Berulle's project soon became definite in its main lines.

The question was not to establish a religious order like the great monastic institutes of the Middle Ages or even like the congregations founded in the sixteenth century which like the monastic orders were based on the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Father de Berulle's idea was simpler and at the same time more complex. The basis of the new society would be exclusively sacerdotal and not at all monastic. The vows of the priesthood, but not those of the religious life, would be the sole bond uniting the members of the association to one another. In other words, this society would be composed of secular priests who would remain subject to the authority and jurisdiction of the bishops and would not enjoy any privilege of exemption.¹⁶

November 11, 1611, is an important date for the history of the clergy of France. On that day, in a house of the Faubourg

¹⁶ Cardinal Perraud, superior general of the Oratory, in *L'Oratoire de France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 42. In one point Pierre de Berulle departed from the notion of St. Philip Neri, whose idea was to make each of his Oratories a work of local apostolate, having its own independent superior and its own novitiate. The new founder intended to centralize the authority in one superior and to assign a universal apostolate to his congregation.

St. Jacques, six priests meeting together, with Pierre de Berulle at their head, formed themselves into a community and resolved to practice the duties of the priesthood as perfectly as possible. According to the holy founder, the priesthood is the order founded by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. It is the first, the most essential, and the most necessary for the Church of God. Bossuet later expressed the spirit of the new congregation when he said: "Pierre de Berulle's great love inspired him with the design of forming a company to which he wished to give no other spirit than that of the Church herself, no rules except her canons, no bonds but her charity, no solemn vows except those of baptism and the priesthood."¹⁷

Letters patent, confirmed on January 2, 1612, and registered in the Parliament on September 4, 1613, gave the new institute the sanction of royal approval. A bull of Paul V (May 10, 1613), granting it approbation, sketched its plan of life as follows: "To live together in a society subject to rules; and, in a spirit of continual humility, to conduct themselves as servants of the Almighty, endeavoring especially to realize in all their acts the perfection of the priestly state; to remain subject to the bishops for the labors of the holy ministry; to devote themselves to the training of the clergy and to have these cultivate learning, not for the sake of learning itself, but for the services it can render the neighbor."¹⁸

The Jesuit, Father Coton, declared that the Oratory seemed necessary for the Church and that he regarded it as a new creation which had been lacking for the perfection of that second and divine universe, the Church. St. Francis de Sales said that, if he could become someone else, he would choose to be Father de Berulle and that he would gladly leave his present state in order to live under the guidance of that great man.

¹⁷ Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre du P. de Bourgoing*.

¹⁸ Bull *Sacrosanctae*; Bull, rom (Luxemburg ed.), III, 371.

Priests came in large numbers and gathered about the holy founder, some becoming members of his congregation, others simply seeking edification from his lessons and imbibing his spirit. In a few years several houses of the Oratory were opened in various cities of France. Soon Father de Berulle's reputation for holiness reached beyond the boundaries of France, new colonies of Oratorians were sent to Louvain, Madrid, Savoy, and Rome, where Pope Paul V, in accord with Louis XIV, entrusted to them the church of St. Louis of the French. In the number of these establishments we should note, in the Faubourg St. Jacques, the College of St. Magloire. Speaking of this, Bossuet said: "Go to that house, where the bones of the great St. Magloire rest. There, in the purest and most serene air of the city, a countless number of clerics breathe a still purer air of clerical discipline. They spread into all the dioceses and carry with them the spirit of the Church." ¹⁹

De Berulle's idea was to have the priests of the Oratory devote themselves solely to the direction of the seminaries. But, by a remarkable permission of Providence, the Holy See did not give its approval to this exclusive plan. The zeal of the Oratory then spread out into all the functions of the priestly ministry. The young institute was not long in covering itself with glory. Soon it gave to scholarship Jean Morin, Richard Simon, Abel Louis de Sainte-Marthe, Houbigant, and Thomassin; to mystical theology, Condren; to philosophy, Malebranche; to the Christian pulpit, Mascaron, Lejeune, and Massillon. Its colleges presently rivaled those of the Jesuits. The work of the theological seminaries was unable to develop as the zealous founder of the Oratory had expected. But he had the joy of seeing founded at Paris in 1620, thanks to the benevolence of Cardinal Henry de Gondi, bishop of Paris, the seminary of St. Magloire. His work would be continued and

¹⁹ Bossuet,, *op. cit.*

his views fully realized by his worthy successor, Charles de Condren, and four priests trained in his school: Adrian Bourdoise, Vincent de Paul, John Eudes, and Jean Jacques Olier.

Charles de Condren (1588-1641)

According to a saying of Father de Berulle, Charles de Condren ²⁰ received the spirit of the Oratory in his cradle. His reputation for holiness was remarkable. St. Chantal said: "God gave our blessed founder to the Church for the instruction of men; but he made Father de Condren capable of instructing the angels." ²¹ When news of his death reached St. Vincent de Paul, this saint cast himself on his knees and struck his breast, accusing himself of not having honored that holy man as he deserved. From Father de Condren the eighteenth-century reformers of the clerical life received those lofty views about the priesthood which would inspire all their works. One of them, Father Olier, declared that Father de Condren had grasped the sublime idea of the design that God manifested to him. He gradually made known what he himself knew was useful.

Adrian Bourdoise (1584-1665)

A retreat made at the Oratory in 1611, under the direction of Father de Berulle, decided Bourdoise's vocation. He was born July 1, 1584, at Brou, a small town in the diocese of Chartres. His father was a subordinate government official. After his father's premature death, his mother was left destitute and he was obliged to work as watcher of cattle, then as a domestic servant, until the day when a charitable pastor introduced him to the studies necessary for attaining to holy orders. The idea of the greatness of the priesthood haunted him from

²⁰ Born at Vaubuin in 1588; died at Paris in 1641.

²¹ Caraccioli, *Vie du P. de Condren*, p. 123.

the time of his early childhood. In 1639 he wrote: "At the age of four I began singing in the choir; from that time on, I thought of nothing but the means for seeing in the Church priests who would take to the heavenly road while leading the people there." To say that he was original and simple would not have offended him. He himself used to say: "My principle was always to note what was ordinarily done, and then to do the contrary." "I am merely crudeness and brutishness, having passed my youth in activities unworthy of a cleric."²² The portraits we have of him show him with a receding, wrinkled forehead, piercing eyes beneath curved protruding eyebrows, features stern and common. He was without moustache, as a protest against the general custom of clerics of that time. The biographers of this dauntless priest often call him a new Elias, a second John the Baptist. He was the most outspoken of the precursors. One of his contemporaries tells us that his manner sometimes seemed to shock human prudence; but, although arousing laughter, it had good effects. One day he even called St. Vincent de Paul a milksop. Letourneau says: "The ideal of this great servant of the Church was to restore the parish and the parish spirit. He had an invincible horror of all domestic chapels. He insisted that Christians ought to attend High Mass. He thought that parishes should be served by priests living in community, like monks, in perfect poverty and humility."²³ He even wished ecclesiastics to be more perfect than monks. In one of those anthitheses that he was fond of, he used to say that the monk is for himself, the cleric is for the Church. The monk saves himself by flight, the cleric by fight. Moreover, he did not understand the possibility of the common life and of holiness in the priesthood without the seminary. He said that for the general disorder of the Church only one remedy would be effective, the establishment of seminaries. What

²² Quoted by Faillon, *op. cit.*, I, 225.

²³ G. Letourneau, *La mission de J.-J. Olier*, p. 61.

makes a good Capuchin or a good Jesuit is a good novitiate. But we have no novitiate for priests. He conceived seminaries as diocesan, founded and directed by the bishop; in conformity with this view he did not found any diocesan seminary properly so called, because, as he said, he did not wish to labor outside the hierarchy. He merely formed a parish seminary at St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, his own parish.

By this work, by the zeal he exercised in the establishment at Paris of the "exercises for ordinands," and especially by the foundation of his parish community of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, Bourdoise did much for the restoration of the clergy of France. Shortly before his death (1665), he wrote: "Our eyes are happy at what they see, the beginning of a reform. . . . What we see in the Church is silver compared with the past, which was lead. But, compared with the gold that is to be desired, this silver is merely lead." ²⁴

St. John Eudes (1601-80)

Adrian Bourdoise was not a long time in the Oratory; John Eudes spent twenty years in it. Besides Berulle's influence, which was exercised on him for six years, that of Father de Condren continued for twelve years; then, for two years, that of Father Bourgoing. John Eudes, born (1601) in the little village of Ri in Normandy, in a lowly family, was the oldest of seven children, one of whom became the historian Mézeray. Like Adrian, he was struck, from the time of his childhood, by the sight of the indifference with which priests and laity treated the holiest things. "No sanctuary," he said, "is any longer to be found, no place reserved to the sacred ministers of the holy of holies. We have merely a den of robbers, a retreat of beasts. . . . Do you wish to see how little veneration most Christians have for the house of God? Go into the houses of the great ones

²⁴ Schoenher, *Histoire du Séminaire de Saint-Nicolas*, p. 197.

of earth: there you will see nothing that is not neat and in good order. Go into the churches: there you will see many of them surrounded with filth, covered with cobwebs, the floors covered with mud. Great God, where is the faith of Christians?"²⁵ Upon joining the Oratory, John Eudes hoped to labor at bringing some remedy to these evils by the foundation of seminaries. The missions that were entrusted to him by his superiors and that he preached in different dioceses, especially in Normandy, strengthened his conviction that a reform of the morals of the faithful would be impossible unless a beginning was made by reforming those of the priests. But he encountered Father Bourgoing's refusal when he formed the project of organizing, in concert with a few ecclesiastics, a real priestly work. This refusal seems to have determined his leaving the Oratory.

Immediately upon leaving the Oratory he founded at Caen (March 25, 1643) a new society under the name of the Society of Jesus and Mary. Like the institute established by Berulle, that of John Eudes was formed without any vows but those of baptism and the priesthood. But he limited his activity to two functions: the sanctification of clerics by seminaries and the preaching of the gospel to the faithful. Furthermore, the holy founder intended that the work of the seminaries should be always the chief aim of his congregation. He often repeated the motto: The interests of the seminaries are preferable to anything that can be done outside. The program laid down for the new society was persistently followed, in the face of a thousand obstacles. Cardinal Richelieu (October, 1642), in several conferences that he had with Father Eudes, promised his support for the founding of a seminary at Caen. The establishment, generously endowed by his niece, the Duchess of Aiguillon, was able to open in 1643. From 1650 to 1667, four other seminaries were founded; namely, at Coutances, Lisieux, Rouen, and Evreux. A petition presented by John Eudes to the Assembly

²⁵ Quoted by H. Joly, *Le Bienheureux Jean Eudes*, pp. 11-13.

of the Clergy (1645) for a general organization of the seminaries of France under a single direction, aroused keen opposition, and the project of the servant of God was finally rejected by the Assembly, which did, however, encourage the priests of the Caen seminary to continue in the way they had begun. Three years later, a higher authority, the Congregation of Propaganda, explicitly declared, in reply to malicious charges, that the seminary established at Caen by John Eudes was erected according to the mind of the Council of Trent and that it had no need of confirmation.

St. Vincent de Paul (1576-1660)

When John Eudes was withdrawing from the Oratory and was instituting a new society, St. Lazare and St. Sulpice were already founded. At St. Lazare the priestly life found its accomplished model in St. Vincent de Paul; at St. Sulpice the seminaries of France received their definite form from Father Olier.

The world scarcely knows St. Vincent de Paul except as the outstanding apostle of charity. Those who have carefully studied the life of this great man of God see in him especially the priest or, as his first and most penetrating biographer says, "a great lover of the priesthood of Christ."²⁶ To one of his confreres he wrote: "How blessed you are to be serving our Lord as an instrument in the making of good priests! You cannot find any work more necessary and more desirable than yours."²⁷ He regarded the priesthood as a center of charity, flowing out over the whole world. He had no love for those souls "that confine their love to God alone, those souls that are elevated in contemplation but that stop with the taste of that infinite source of sweetness without concern for their neigh-

²⁶ Abelly, *op. cit.*, Bk. III, chap. 11, § 5. (1839 ed., II, 334).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

bor." "Our vocation," he said, "is to go, not into one parish or into one diocese, but throughout the earth, to embrace the hearts of men. We are not satisfied with loving God if our neighbor does not also love Him." ²⁸ The whole life of St. Vincent may be found in these words. He is engaged in the solacing of all wretchedness of body and soul, but in his priestly soul he seeks the source of his devotedness and gives the best of his soul to the training of holy priests.

Like Adrian Bourdoise and John Eudes, he came of peasant stock.²⁹ Throughout his life he humbled himself, as for a crime, with having, in early childhood, blushed for his father, poor and ill dressed. He once said to his priests: "To whom do you render obedience? To a man full of sins. I have recently been thinking of this. For I recall that, when I was a little boy, as my father was bringing me with him into the city, I was ashamed to go with him and to acknowledge him as my father because he was ill dressed and a little dirty. Wretch that I was! . . . I ask pardon of God and of the whole Company." Throughout all his life, before the common people as also before those at the royal court, he repeatedly called to mind that he sprang from a poor family. Providence would lead this son of peasants through the most brilliant and diverse society of his time.

Vincent was born (1576) in the village of Pouy near Dax, in the Landes department of Gascony. As a child he watched his father's sheep. His first studies, with the Cordeliers of Dax, showed the alertness and penetration of his mind. The generosity of a certain lawyer, who engaged Vincent as tutor of his children, enabled the young man to answer the call to

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

²⁹ In the seventeenth century the particle (de) was not a sign of nobility. The younger brother of John Eudes was called Charles d'Honay; in certain districts the custom was for the younger brothers to leave the family name to their oldest brother while they took the name of a paternal locality or some other surname. Cf. Joly, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

the priesthood which he heard in his soul. He then pursued his advanced studies at the Toulouse University and there was ordained priest in 1600. After that, at the University of Saragossa, where the subtle discussions on the divine concursus soon impressed his clear genius and his gentle humor, he acquired a solid knowledge of theology.³⁰

Five years later he was captured by Barbary pirates and became the slave of a renegade apothecary. At Tunis he argued with the Mussulman infidels and began an acquaintance with their medical knowledge. Soon after this, Providence brought him to Rome. There we see him at the papal court, attentively noting the customs of that world which was new to him. While he was yet less than thirty-four years old, Pope Paul V, struck by his sagacity, entrusted him with a confidential mission to Henry IV. The astute monarch took good care to keep at his court that sharp and genial mind, which was somewhat like his own. Thus the humble priest became chaplain of the Queen of France. In the sort of Academy that Margaret of Valois had in her palace in the Faubourg St. Germain and at her château at Issy, good Father Vincent rubbed elbows with the finest minds of the age: the humanist Bishop Coëffeteau, the scholarly Dupleix, the historian Palma Gayet, the poet Mathurin Regnier. Soon, in the house of the great nobleman, Emmanuel de Gondi, commander of the galleys and brother of the Bishop of Paris, who (1613) entrusted to him the education of his son, the future Cardinal de Retz, Vincent found the same taste for literature and learned discussions. This circumstance reveals one of the remarkable traits in the life of this man who was the humblest and simplest spirit of his time and perhaps of

³⁰ The Jansenist party could not forgive Vincent de Paul for having so cleverly discovered and so courageously denounced their errors. They endeavored to accredit the legend of a St. Vincent de Paul ignorant and incapable of lofty dogmatic speculation. But we know the impression which his learning and penetration made on the Prince de Condé and on Cardinal Richelieu. Authentic documents, found after his death, show that the University of Toulouse conferred on him the right to teach Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences*.

all times. One step more, and Vincent became the very soul of that "Council of Conscience" which the Queen, Anne of Austria, and her chief minister, Mazarin, formed to help the royal government in the handling of ecclesiastical matters, especially in the appointments to benefices. Everywhere the influence of the holy priest was felt by all. When, on his way to the royal council, the son of the Landes peasant, with his slow and somewhat heavy step, passed through the ranks of the courtiers, some of the great lords may have smiled at his patched cassock and his worn-out hat; presently his convinced and burning words and the frank expression of his penetrating look would have the gift of touching the most selfish hearts and of overcoming men who were the most hardened in the handling of political affairs.³¹

Indeed the virtue of this priest was remarkable. Long years of silence and prayer, of terrible interior distress,³² had forged his apostolic soul. An astonishing loftiness of ideal in the conception of his works was united with a marvelous prudence in execution; a slowness of decision, which sometimes exasperated his friends, whenever God's will did not appear clear to him, combined with a warmth of zeal, a determined perseverance, which nothing thwarted once the divine will was manifest. The preaching of the gospel to the poor and the sanctification of the clergy were the two aims of his zeal. But every material, moral, or religious need of his time appealed to his charitable soul. In all its forms, charity filled the life of the holy priest. The story of the Catholic revival should mention in par-

³¹ Queen Anne of Austria was unable to resist the charitable solicitations of the saint. One day, after emptying her purse, she turned over to him for his poor a diamond worth 7,000 livres, asking him to keep secret the identity of the benefactor. To this Vincent replied: "Madame, pardon me if I fail to obey you in this. I cannot conceal so beautiful an act of charity."

³² One time the holy priest, seeing that his arguments failed to vanquish the doubts of a Sorbonne doctor, heroically offered to endure this painful trial of conscience. We know how, during the space of four years, this humble soul underwent the torment of unbelief. He was suddenly delivered from this temptation by his vow to consecrate himself entirely to Christ in the person of the poor.

ticular three of his works: the missions, the retreats for ordinands, and the seminaries.

The Missions

In the first of these undertakings St. Vincent was helped by the devout Marchioness de Gondi. "Margaret de Silly's pure and sweet personality, attractive and charming to an unusual degree, caused the most austere Christian virtues to be admired in the highest society, without losing anything of her grace and exquisite distinctions."³³ This noble woman deserves a place among the personages who brought about the Catholic revival of the seventeenth century. St. Vincent de Paul always attributed to her the inspiration of the work of the missions. Moved by the moral wretchedness of the peasants on her estates, Madame de Gondi begged Father Vincent to preach to them and especially to urge them to make a general confession. As the saint himself says: "God had much regard to the confidence and good faith of this lady. . . . These good folk were so touched by God that they all came to make their general confession." All through his life the saint preserved the memory of a certain day (January 25, 1617) when for the first time he preached to these poor peasants; he celebrated its anniversary devoutly as that of the first and remote origin of his apostolic works. With the help of the pious Madame de Gondi and her worthy sister-in-law, the Marchioness de Maignelay, Vincent founded (1618) the first society of the Ladies of Charity.

Before appearing in the presence of God, Madame de Gondi had the consolation of seeing the charitable undertakings of her holy teacher consolidated by the foundation of a solid institution. On April 17, 1625, at the Gondi palace in Paris, was signed the agreement for the founding of what would later be

³³ E. de Broglie, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

called The Mission. The Marquis de Gondi and his wife are mentioned in the first line of this agreement. Vincent de Paul is scarcely named in it, but his inspiration fills this fine document, famous in the religious history of the seventeenth century.

The purpose of the new society was to come to the aid of the poor country people by uniting a few good priests of well-known doctrine, piety, and ability who would go from village to village, at the expense of the common treasury, to instruct and exhort the poor people, without taking any compensation, with a view to distributing gratis the gifts they have received freely from the generous hand of God. Madame de Gondi died two months after the signing of the agreement, assisted at her last hour by the holy priest to whom she had entrusted the direction of her conscience. The new Society, approved by the royal authority two years later, was erected into a regular congregation, under the name of Society of the Priests of the Mission, by a bull of Urban VIII (January 12, 1632).³⁴ At the close of that year its headquarters were transferred to the priory of St. Lazare, whence the name of Lazarists given to the missionaries instituted by St. Vincent de Paul.

Retreats

St. Lazare now became the center of the works founded by St. Vincent. There he gave most of the retreats for ordinands. These retreats were intended to be the immediate preparation of the young men who were about to be ordained priests.

For some time past the saint had been lamenting the deplorable conditions in which the ordinations of clerics were taking place. Worldly clerics of the cities, younger sons, having

³⁴ See an abridgment of the Constitutions and Common Rules of the Congregation of the Mission, in Mott, *Saint Vincent de Paul et le sacerdoce*, pp. 429-36. On the history of the foundation of the Mission, see the same work, pp. 237-57.

university diplomas with a view to desired benefices, and poor village clerics, uncultured, ignorant, and crude: ³⁵ both groups were on a par so far as religious preparation was concerned. Canon law required that the candidate's qualities should be assured, and his piety often led him to prepare for orders by a retreat. But practically nothing was regulated. You might see young men, without examinations or retreats, without any kind of instructions or counsels, receive from their bishop the order that permanently attached them to the Church by the subdiaconate; on another day you might see them receive the mighty powers of the priesthood. "One is saddened in reading the history of that saintly prelate, Bishop Donnadier, who, penetrated with zeal for the sanctity of the priesthood, required the ordinands of his diocese to prepare on the eve of their ordination by a general confession. For almost three hours he exhorted them, and in the evening sent to their lodgings to discover and reject the unworthy." ³⁶

One day (in July, 1628) the Bishop of Beauvais (Augustine Potier), taking Father Vincent with him in a carriage, remained some time with his eyes closed, saying nothing, meditating on something in his own mind. Those who were with him, thinking he was asleep, remained silent. Then, opening his eyes, he told them he had not been asleep but was thinking what might be the most direct and certain means for rightly disposing and preparing the candidates for holy orders. He said he thought it might be to have them come to his own house and there stay with him a few days, while they would be given some suitable exercises to inform them of things they ought to know and of the virtues they ought to practice. Then Father Vincent, who had already in a general way spoken to him about the need of this preparation, now expressed his approval of the suggested program, saying: "This thought of yours comes from God; your proposal is an

³⁵ Bourdoise relates: "A good man, my godfather, told me at that time: 'Adrian, you must learn to read so as to sing well in the church, for it is a fine thing when a priest knows how to read and write.' See what was the state of the clergy of my day" (Bourdoise, *Sentences chrétiennes*, chap. 8, no. 22).

³⁶ Bougaud, *St. Vincent de Paul*, I, 138.

excellent way gradually to put all the clergy of your diocese in good order." ³⁷

At the time of the next ordination, which occurred on the September Ember days, Father Vincent went to Beauvais and put himself at the disposal of the Bishop for the organization and preaching of his first retreat for ordinands, "being more assured that God was asking this service of him, since he received it from the lips of a bishop, than if it had been revealed to him by an angel." ³⁸ Fortunately the example given by the Bishop of Beauvais became contagious. At the beginning of 1631, the archbishop of Paris, Jean François de Gondi, published a decree requiring that all the subjects of his diocese who should aspire to holy orders must, ten days before receiving them, go into retreat with the Fathers of the Mission, there to dispose themselves, by the exercises of a special retreat, to receive them worthily and fruitfully. These exercises, organized at the Collège des Bons-Enfants and later at St. Lazare by St. Vincent's practical genius, had a prodigious success in France and beyond. Several bishops adopted them. In many places they were conducted by the Oratorians. In 1659 they received the approval of the supreme authority. In November of that year, by command of Pope Alexander VII, an order of the Cardinal Vicar obliged all aspiring to sacred orders to prepare for them by a ten-day retreat made with the Priests of the Mission.

These ten days of retreat, spent in meditation upon the greatness and responsibilities of the priesthood, prepared the young ordinands to receive more abundantly the graces of their holy state and to approach the exercise of those orders with greater generosity. But would not these impressions soon be-

³⁷ Abelly, *op. cit.*, I, 119.

³⁸ Says Letourneau: "It would be a mistake for us to regard the thought of the Bishop of Beauvais as a sort of heavenly revelation, manifesting a wholly new project. The idea of retreats for ordinands had already been prepared by several persons" (Letourneau, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

come weakened? Father Vincent reflected upon the matter, praying God to help him to thwart such a misfortune. He considered means for remedying the situation. Ever distrustful of his own lights, as usual he awaited some sign from Providence before applying them.

"While he was occupied with these thoughts, a virtuous ecclesiastic, who had attended the ordinand's exercises at Paris, called on Father Vincent. He proposed to him that some kind of union should be established among the ecclesiastics who might wish to live in conformity with the holiness of their vocation. He expressed the hope that Father Vincent would consent to have them meet at times at St. Lazare where they would confer together about the virtues and duties proper to their ministry. Father Vincent received this suggestion as coming from God."³⁹

On July 25, 1633, at St. Lazare began the clerical conferences that would become famous as the Tuesday Conferences. Among the approximately three hundred priests who were admitted to these conferences during St. Vincent's lifetime, we find that the Church of France then had men eminent by birth, talent, learning, and virtue: Abelly, the future bishop of Rodez and biographer of St. Vincent; Pavillon, Godeau, Fouquet, Vialart, and Perrochel, future bishops respectively of Alet, Vence, Bayonne, Chalons, and Boulogne; the Abbot of Coulanges, uncle of Madame de Sévigné, Father Olier, founder of St. Sulpice, and, most illustrious of all, Bossuet, who throughout all his life retained the memory of these conferences. Fifty years later (1702), in his deposition with reference to the servant of God, he wrote: "We had the consolation of seeing with our own eyes the person and the actions of that apostolic man and of hearing with our own ears the words of life that came from his lips. During the last six years of his life we were privileged to be admitted to the company of those clerics that

³⁹ Abelly, *Collection des Lazaristes*, II, 316, quoted by Mott, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

met together for the Tuesday Conferences, at which a large number of prelates and doctors were present. We were extremely edified by his conduct and considered him a saint, who practiced all the Christian and ecclesiastical virtues in a heroic degree."

Other similar associations were founded, on the model of that of St. Lazare, in many dioceses. The results soon made themselves felt. Often we are tempted to ask how, in the frivolous society of the seventeenth century, so many priests and prelates, mingling in the world and at court, were able to maintain a worthiness of life in such contrast with that of their environment. The secret of their priestly virtues, their zeal for the salvation of souls, and their service of the poor, is to be found largely in the work of the ordinands' retreats, and particularly in the personal influence of the holy founder of the Mission, in the influence of his example and conversations. More than any other cause, the sincere and moving words of the humble priest may have contributed to the emancipation of Bossuet's genius from the pompous rhetoric of the period.

The Seminaries

By the work of the ordinands' retreats, divine Providence prepared the important work of the seminaries, an undertaking called for by the Council of Trent. The bishops had now under their hand a prepared house and personnel. Nothing further was required than the enlargement and affirmation of the first work. But the saint was not in a hurry to start the work. His humility kept him from taking part in this enterprise. To prompt him to do so required the intervention of Cardinal Richelieu. One day, when Louis XIII's minister sent for him to consult him about the affairs of the French clergy, Father Vincent took advantage of the circumstances to say to him that, after the ordinands' retreats and the spiritual con-

ferences of the clergy, which were now taking place in several localities, nothing remained to wish for but the establishment of seminaries in the dioceses.⁴⁰ The Cardinal, after listening with gratification, urged that Father Vincent himself should undertake the foundation of a seminary. As means for the beginning of the work, he sent him a thousand crowns, which were used for the maintenance of the first clerics that Father Vincent received at the Collège des Bons-Enfants in February, 1642. After that, several bishops established seminaries and put them in charge of the priests of the Congregation of the Mission, as at Cahors, Saintes, St. Malo, Tréguier, Agen, Montauban, Agde, Troyes, Amiens, Noyon, and also in Italy and other countries.

But at that time (December, 1641), a major seminary, exclusively for young men who had completed their course of the humanities, was founded by one of the most faithful disciples of St. Vincent and of Father de Condren, by one of the best friends of John Eudes and Adrian Bourdoise. This priest was Jean Jacques Olier.

Father Olier (1608-57)

Jean Jacques Olier was a conquest of grace. He was the son of Jacques Olier de Verneuil, councilor in Parliament and secretary of Henry IV. He was related to the first families of the

⁴⁰ The saint took no account of the attempt he had made in 1635, when receiving at the Collège des Bons-Enfants young children destined to be brought up according to the mind of the Council of Trent. The success did not correspond to his good desires. On May 13, 1644, he spoke thus of the young clerics of this first seminary: "We have twenty-two of them in our seminary of the Ecoliers des Bons-Enfants, among whom not more than three or four are passable, giving promise of perseverance. . . . The decree of the Council is to be respected as coming from the Holy Ghost; nevertheless, experience shows that in the way it has been carried out with regard to the age of the seminarians the thing has not succeeded either in Italy or in France." St. Vincent's project was fully realized only when he transferred the young students from the Collège des Bons-Enfants to the St. Charles Seminary, a real preparatory seminary that gave excellent results. (Abelly, *op. cit.*, I, 557.

Paris magistracy. At the age of eighteen he was provided with the abbacy of Pébroc, was prior of Bazainville and of Clisson, honorary canon of the illustrious chapter of St. Julian of Brioude. At first he led the worldly life of most ecclesiastics of his condition. He had a large retinue, two carriages, and numerous servants. His vivacity, his noble and affable manners, made him sought after in society.⁴¹ He had delicate features, a broad forehead, aquiline nose, bright red lips, a silvery voice, natural gestures, an easy bearing. In the world of young ecclesiastics of quality who were then scandalizing pious souls in Paris by using the revenues of their benefices in having carriages and valets, in making good cheer, in gaming, and in various kinds of foolish expenses, the young Abbot of Pébrac held first place. One day, when a group of these young clerics were on their way back from the St. Germain fair, a humble woman came up to them and said: "Alas, gentlemen, how sorry I am for you! For a long time I have been praying for your conversion. Some day, I hope, God will hear me."

Olier, who was in the group, never forgot that meeting and the woman who thus spoke to them. Her name was Marie de Gournay, the widow of David Rousseau, one of the twenty-five "Paris wine-merchants before the court."⁴² At an early age she had felt impelled to labor for the good of the Church and by her prayers had already obtained the reform of the abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés. Father Olier later declared that he owed his first conversion to this holy soul. He began to live unto God in desire and by an affection that was not deep. But, in spite of the solicitations of God, he always fell back, until the time of his visit to Notre Dame of Loreto. There he was en-

⁴¹ Faillon, *Vie de M. Olier*, I, 23.

⁴² It does not follow that we can say, with Faillon, that "God chose Marie de Gournay from the most obscure class and one of the occupations most degrading in the eyes of the world" (Faillon, *op. cit.*, I, 24). Offices such as that of wine merchant to the court were bestowed on persons whom the government wished to gratify, persons who often had the business managed by others.

tirely conquered by grace. From that time on, he was completely changed. St. Vincent de Paul, whom he took for his confessor, introduced him to the most excellent works of charity and apostolic zeal. He attended the ordinands' retreat at the time of his promotion to sacred orders in 1633 and was one of the first priests who attended the famous conferences at St. Lazare.

The missions, which St. Vincent's disciples were organizing in the various districts of France, counted Father Olier among their most devoted workers. These apostolic labors occupied him for about ten years and left an indelible impression on his soul. We can truly say that, to the very end of his life, he remained a missionary, even when he was preaching to his seminarians the loftiest maxims of the interior life and when he was striving to bury himself in the confines of his community: even then he was still thinking of missions in France, Canada, CochinChina, and Mesopotamia. The long experiences he had acquired in the missions gave him great authority in directing the clerics and priests who sought his advice.

A remarkable event, which inquiry by the Congregation of Rites allowed to be regarded as miraculous, turned him finally to the work of seminaries. In 1634, while the servant of God was at prayer during his retreat at St. Lazare, a nun, apparently of the Order of St. Dominic, suddenly appeared to him, holding a crucifix in one hand, in the other a rosary. With her eyes filled with tears, she made known to him that she was weeping for his perfect conversion.

A few weeks later Father Olier, during a mission he was preaching in Auvergne, recognized the nun who had appeared to him. It was Mother Agnes, prioress of the convent of St. Catherine of Langeac. This holy woman, whom the Church has since proclaimed Venerable, then declared to him that God destined him to lay the foundations of the seminaries in the King-

dom of France. On October 12, the holy nun, convinced that she was obeying a supernatural inspiration, wrote to Father de Condren, begging him to assume the spiritual direction of Father Olier. A week later Mother Agnes rendered her soul to God, leaving here below the fragrance of the most heroic virtues.⁴³

The second superior of the Oratory then seemed to have given up any hope of directing the zeal of his congregation toward the training of the clergy. He gathered about him a few ecclesiastics and explained to them those profound views of spirituality that had delighted St. Chantal and would exercise a great influence over the seventeenth century. This holy man's ideas were most sublime on the Incarnation, the death and Resurrection of Christ, the priesthood, the Mass, the life of the Savior in us in the fullness of His spirit, in the truth of His virtues, and in the communion of His divine mysteries. For five years he never spoke to these young priests, in clear and precise words, about their vocation. He turned their activities to the preaching of the missions and merely said to them that God was reserving for them an excellent work, more useful for the Church than even the functions of the episcopate. However, shortly before his death, he sent for one of his disciples, Father du Ferrier, and revealed to him that the work he was thinking of was the training of young men in the clerical spirit, a work that could be accomplished only in seminaries, as the Council of Trent had wisely declared. "Lose no time," he added "the evil spirit will stir up dissensions; avoid wordy strife and contention and take no sides but the side of the pope." The next day Father de Condren took to bed for the last time. Through Father Olier and his companions, he laid the foundation of the work of seminaries and thereby of a solid regeneration of the

⁴³ A decree of Pius VII (March 17, 1808) declares that Mother Agnes practiced the virtues in a heroic degree.

French clergy. Thus he consummated the mission for which God had sent him into this world.

Seminary of St. Sulpice

After earnest prayers, long conferences, and hard trials, three of his disciples—François Caulet (abbot of St. Volusien de Foix), Jean du Ferrier, and Jean Jacques Olier (abbot of Pébrac)—decided to follow the way indicated by their venerated spiritual guide.

The beginnings were as humble as possible. A pious woman, Marie Luillier (Madame de Villeneuve), placed at their disposal in the village of Vaugirard, in the Paris environs, a small one-story house. In fact, an old pigeon-house had to be made into rooms for the seminarians. On December 29, 1641, the three priests were able to install themselves very modestly. Madame de Villeneuve sent them, in a little kettle, their dinner of soup and boiled meat every day. Father Bourdoise, the rough superior of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, wrote to them, saying: "What a fine thing, if three priests could be found, sufficiently filled with love for the Church, so that they would declare themselves against the world and its ways! To obtain the reform of the clergy I would gladly go a hundred leagues to see them." The three priests replied, "To see the three men whom you seek, you have no need of going a hundred leagues. Simply come to Vaugirard."

Soon eight seminarians joined the little community, whose rule was formed gradually and, as it were, of itself. The three priests remained alone in their little house for several weeks, easily agreeing to divide the day into a series of exercises composed of prayer, study, and the apostolate. Young clerics who came to them were simply invited to take their place beside their elders and join fully in their life. Hence arose the most original trait of the life of St. Sulpice, namely, that the Sul-

pician seminaries should not have two rules, one for the teachers and another for the students.⁴⁴ Father Olier's successors have always considered this feature a guaranty of God's blessings.

Father Olier, who from the outset was charged with the direction of the little community, was concerned with realizing the wish formerly expressed by Father de Condren, to have at his side doctors animated by the scientific spirit and by the Christian spirit. He himself took charge of the course in Scripture. Three providential recruits—Father de Bassancourt, former companion of Father Olier in the missions by St. Lazare, an Orléans priest, Father Houmain, and the provost of the chapter of Brioude, Father de la Chassaigne. These men gave the courses in liturgy and theology. The courses were not strictly confined to those living in the community; the same may be said of the spiritual conferences by which the words of the zealous superior every evening inflamed the souls of his disciples. Soon a coming and going developed between the Faubourg St. Germain, where a number of young clerics had their time at their own disposal, and the plain house of Vaugirard. Little by little this seminary took on a considerable importance. In February, Father Bourdoise spent three weeks there, where he saw a school of holiness in which the clerics were striving to die wholly to themselves that they might live the life of Christ. Cardinal Richelieu, surmising that there was found the source of the true reform of the clergy, offered his château de Rueil to the priests of Vaugirard. But on August 10 of that year, when Father Olier became the pastor of St. Sulpice, the seminary followed him there and took its definite name of Seminary of St. Sulpice.

Two marks distinguished it from all the seminaries previ-

⁴⁴ Not until a comparatively late period, twenty or thirty years after the death of Father Olier, did the growth of the community oblige his successors to consign to paper, as a seminary rule, the customs that had been established there.

ously founded: it was intended exclusively for clerics who had finished their humanities. Thus it constituted a "major seminary," strictly so called; it had its own life, separate from the parish regime. The house was not even a diocesan seminary; it did not depend on the archbishop of Paris, but on the abbot of St. Germain-des-Prés, who was dependent immediately on the pope.

The holy founder rejoiced at this fact, which he considered providential. He used to say that the real superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice was the pope, and that the seminary was a place prepared to give the spirit of respect, love, and service to the whole clergy of the Church, whose sovereignty resides in the person of the successor of St. Peter. This idea was the echo of Father de Condren's words, that he left to his followers as a last testament: "Do not take sides, except the side of the pope."

Such was the origin of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, which Father Hilarion de Nalay in 1694 called "a school of holiness," and the Duke de St. Simon in 1709 called "a nursery of bishops." Father Olier's first purpose had been to found only this house, held by a dozen members associated together and to train there subjects that might be given to the bishops for the direction of similar houses. Circumstances later led him to take the management of the houses thus established. In this way, what had been only a seminary became, according to St. Simon's expression, "a sort of congregation," the Company of St. Sulpice, whose essential aim has always been the training and sanctification of the clergy.

CHAPTER V

Works of Charity in France

Conditions in France

WE cannot easily form an idea of the material and moral wretchedness from which France suffered during the first half of the seventeenth century. The religious wars were the first cause of this distress. In the strifes between castle and castle, city and city, party and party, in which nobles and bourgeois, workmen and peasants, opposed each other, the sieges, the passing of the armies, the pillaging, had increased the devastation. Labor had ceased almost everywhere. An impoverished and demoralized nobility was pressing upon the peasants, who revolted. Industry and commerce felt the effects of so many disasters. France had become tributary to foreign industry.¹ Workmen without work and peasants driven from the country districts by indigence filled the cities with hungry multitudes. Henry IV, on May 1, 1598, wrote: "France and I need to catch our breath."

But scarcely was King Henry dead, when the Thirty Years' War broke out. During the French period of that war the eastern provinces were overrun, ravaged, and reduced to the most extreme poverty by the passing of the armies of all the European countries. Callot's engravings have preserved the memory of those calamities. Public documents and especially the private reports that have come down to us make us shudder with horror. Omer Talon wrote in a remonstrance to the

¹ France had to buy from the English various kinds of cloth, and to have the wool of Languedoc and Provence manufactured in Italy. See Mariéjol, in Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. VI, Part II, p. 67.

Queen: "Ten years ago the country districts were ruined; the peasants are reduced to the necessity of sleeping on straw, their furniture has been sold to pay the taxes which they can no longer meet. Millions of innocent souls are obliged to live on bread made of bran and oats. The whole kingdom is languishing, weakened by the frequency of the extraordinary raising of taxes that are the blood of the people. . . . In the evening, Madame, in the solitude of your oratory, consider the calamity of the provinces. . . . The honor of battles won, the glory of districts conquered, cannot feed those who have no bread." ²

The sister of Chancellor Séguier, a Carmelite nun in a convent at Pontoise, wrote to her brother as follows: "Monsignor and dear brother: This note is to ask from you that a certain good old man be freed from prison. A certain M. Lempereur is playing the tyrant. Our prison at Pontoise is filled with poor people for non-payment of taxes, and I do not know whether the King is being better served thereby. Gladly I become their advocate. Render them justice, and God will render you justice." In Lorraine bread was sold at one franc a pound; acorns and roots became the ordinary food of the people. In many places the cloistered nuns almost died from lack of nourishment, and the convent bell, intended to warn the people of peril to the community, rang continually for whole months. After the religious wars and the Thirty Years' War, the Fronde, with its brilliant appearances, was the last stroke inflicted on the fortune of France. Mother Angélique Arnaud (January 7, 1649) wrote from Port Royal des Champs to one of her nuns: "What a horrible thing this poor countryside is! People no longer work, we have no horses any more; everything has been stolen. . . . The peasants are reduced to sleeping in the woods, happy to have there a retreat to escape being butchered."

The moral condition suffered no less than the material state from so many bloody strifes and from so many frivolous rival-

² Omer Talon, *Mémoires*, p. 212.

ries. From camp life the common man brought back the horrible practice of blasphemy, and the gentleman brought the barbarous custom of dueling. In the rural districts, where the wars had often interrupted the ceremonies of divine worship, ignorance was widespread. "If a pagan," said Bourdoise, "came here from the remote country of Japan, and saw a country church, poor, unkept, half-ruined, that place would probably seem to him more suited for housing animals than for offering sacrifice to the living God." ³ In the cities, among the bourgeois and the nobles, beside the Huguenot reading the Bible and singing the psalms of Marot, appeared the "libertine" haranguing and showing off. What was this licentiousness? Was it a disorder of morals? Pascal seems to say so. He wrote: "There are some men who do not believe, but by licentiousness." Was it a disorder of mind? Thus Bossuet seems to understand it, when he speaks of "those false religions that are merely licentiousness of mind. To think whatever they please, is the charm by which these minds are thrown into licentious opinions." In any event, the libertines had at Paris their headquarters in the Faubourg St. Germain. The people confusing them with the Huguenots, called that faubourg "the little Geneva." Philosophers and theologians, such as Garasse and Mersenne, called them atheists. Among themselves, however, they called one another "men of politics." "The Faubourg St. Germain was at that time the cesspool, not only of Paris, but almost of all France; it served as a sort of retreat for all the libertines, atheists, and other persons who lived in disorder and impiety." ⁴

To organize the charity, to oppose the licentiousness, and to gather the devout faithful into charitable associations, were the tasks undertaken by zealous souls of that time. The realization of these projects we shall see in three kinds of works: in the charitable institutions of St. Vincent de Paul; in the mis-

³ Bourdoise, *Sentences chrétiennes*, chap. 9; "*Des temples sacrés*" p. 42.

⁴ Abelly, *Vie de saint Vincent de Paul* (1839 ed.), I, 524.

sions preached in the country districts and in Paris, chiefly in the Faubourg St. Germain by Father Olier ; in the founding of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament by the Duke de Ventadour.

Work of St. Vincent de Paul

St. Vincent de Paul did for charity in the seventeenth century what St. Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century did for the science of the faith. This simple and great man was endowed by God with a genius for organization. In 1617, while he was pastor of Châtillon-les-Dombes, the devotedness of two converted worldly-minded women (Madame de la Chassaigne and Madame de Brie) suggested to the saint the first idea of the conferences of charity, from which would emerge the institution of the Daughters of Charity. Father Vincent's first plan was simply to establish these conferences in the villages. But some society ladies, who had lands in the places where the conferences were established, considering that the same needs were to be met with in Paris, spoke about it to the various pastors, and these spoke of it to Father Vincent, who was thus obliged to take a hand in making this establishment in the parishes where it was asked for.⁵ This was in 1618. The new association soon had its rule. "The conferences of charity were established to assist the poor sick bodily and spiritually. They were composed of a certain number of women and girls, the latter with the consent of their fathers, the former with the consent of their husbands. . . . They will, each on her day, serve the sick poor: to the homes of the sick they will take their food already prepared, and will cherish the sick as persons whom our Lord has united by His love."⁶ The saint had a charming tone in the instructions he gave to his first conference of "servants of the poor." "The servant of the poor," he said,

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 28.

⁶ For the complete rule, see *ibid.*, pp. 29-32.

“must at first greet the sick gravely and charitably, then carry their dinner to them, fix the table on the bed, upon the table place a napkin, a glass, a spoon, and some bread, and wash the sick person’s hands; she must do all this as if she were doing it for her son.” In these instructions we see St. Vincent’s whole soul, with its simplicity, practical sense, touching charity, and joyous enthusiasm.

The example of the first associates soon brought about a holy emulation among the ladies of the highest society. At the side of Madame de Gondi, always devoted to the works of her holy spiritual director, we see the Duchess of Aiguillon, niece of Cardinal Richelieu, Madame Fouquet, mother of the inspector, Madame de Miramion, so well known for her beauty and her virtues, Madame Séguier, Mlle de Vigueau, Princess Gonzaga, and the Queen, Anne of Austria, all declaring they would devote to the good works the entire superfluity of their fortune and all the time which their position left to them. The visits to the sick in the hospitals and to the prisoners in their prisons and especially the adoption of the foundlings exercised the zeal of these women of the world. We know that one day the Ladies of Charity, overwhelmed by the financial burden of the work of the foundlings, feeling their courage give way, were on the point of abandoning a work too heavy for their strength; but Vincent stepped in. “Take heart, now,” he said, “give up being the mothers of these infants and become their judges. Their life and their death are in your hands. I shall now collect your decisions, your votes.” The tears of the assembled Ladies was the first reply, and the Ladies of Charity resolved to keep up the work at whatever price.

The scenes of wretchedness in Paris did not turn Vincent’s attention from that of the provinces, particularly that of the east, ravaged by the Thirty Years’ War. For more than twenty years he and his disciples were the great almsgiver, the public purveyor for those unfortunate regions. He published a peri-

odical gazette, the *Magasin charitable*, to keep the public acquainted with the sufferings of the peasants and with the distribution of relief carried out by his missionaries. He instituted the *potages économiques*. He himself wrote out an instruction about the way to make these soups; he founded companies of "aeraters" for the purification of the soil and the atmosphere; he had seed sent to the peasants to enable them to plant the devastated lands; he created a special work to assist the Lorraine nobility who were refugees in Paris; he made the most urgent appeals to the rich, and, when his treasury was empty, he held out his hand to the court. The Queen, unable to refuse him anything, sent him, in place of money, some jewels, which he sold for his poor.

Amid these calamities the saint instituted relief undertakings that are often regarded as the glory of later times. To sustain his works he bought, in the country, some sheep, cows, and calves; in the cities he formed some workshops, where he provided work for children, convalescents, and even healthy men. This procedure was helping them by their own work. A hospice was opened for transients who there received supper and a bed; the next morning they were given "two sous" to continue their journey. While he was in the service of Marquis Emmanuel de Gondi, commander of the royal galleys, Vincent had been moved at sight of those unfortunate convicts, who were flogged on their bare shoulders. To M. de Gondi he said: "These poor people belong to you, and you will answer to God for them. While they are waiting to be brought to their place of punishment, you have a duty of charity not to let them remain without assistance and consolation." Thus was born the work for the galley-convicts, then the more general work of the prisons, by which material relief and spiritual consolations were extended to the prisoners. These works were recommended in 1618 by the bishop of Paris, Henry de Gondi, brother of the commander of the galleys. In 1622, the work for the galley-

convicts was extended to Marseilles and Bordeaux, and there bore wonderful fruit.

During the Fronde, Vincent de Paul was an infirm old man. But in Paris and the environs, in Champagne and Picardy, he multiplied himself to bring help to the unfortunate. He did even more than this. Convinced that Mazarin's presence at the court was the principal cause of all these troubles, he went courageously to the Queen Mother and said to her: "Madame, is it just to make a million innocent people die in order to punish twenty or thirty guilty ones? If the presence of the Cardinal is the source of the troubles in the state, are you not obliged to sacrifice him at least for a while?" Then he went directly to Mazarin and spoke to him at some length about the misfortunes of the civil war, concluding with these words: "Monsignor, yield to the times and cast yourself into the sea to calm the storm." "You have read me a very severe lecture," replied Mazarin; "no one has ever before ventured to address me in such terms. Nevertheless, I will go and see whether M. Le Tellier shares your view." This was a way of informing Father Vincent that his attempt had failed. Mazarin never forgave that courageous move by Vincent. The people, misinformed about the affair, accused Father Vincent of being bought over by Mazarin, ridiculed him by songs and insults. Good Father Vincent then tasted the bitterness of unpopularity. The house of St. Lazare was broken into and plundered by the rabble, who consumed the provisions intended for distribution to the poor.

The Ladies of Charity were, since 1633, seconded by a new work, that of the Daughters of Charity. This was the most popular of St. Vincent's foundations. Whenever people hear his name, they see before them the white cornet of the Sisters of Charity.

Among the ladies devoted to the visiting of the sick under the saint's direction, was a noble woman, Louise de Marillac. She was the niece of Maréchal de Marillac and of the keeper

of the seals, Michael de Marillac, both of whom had recently died, one on the scaffold, the other in prison. Both were victims of their loyalty to Marie de Medici. A widow at the age of thirty-four (1625), Louise vowed herself wholly to prayer and good works. But all the great ladies of Paris whom Vincent had succeeded in gathering about him did not possess the same zeal. Without difficulty from their ranks could be obtained women to take part in the conferences of charity, to give alms for the poor and visit them; but when they were asked to care for the poor personally, some were hindered by duties of their position, others did not have the time or at any rate did not take the time. They sent their servants to do the work in their place. Thus a gap was left to be filled.⁷ Vincent, with the help of Mlle Legras (that is, Louise de Marillac), gathered a few good country girls, courageous and accustomed to hard work. On November 29, 1633, four or five of these humble servants of the poor inaugurated the Institute of the Daughters of Charity in a little house, entered by a low door and a dim hallway; but it was the refuge of the purest and most unselfish devotion.

The humble girls labored twelve years without written rules or constitutions of any kind. At first they were simple auxiliaries of the conferences of charity. Soon they had their place in all the good works: the service of the hospitals, little schools, visiting the sick, and so on. Their holy founder gave them a beginning of organization; he let them (March 25, 1642) make annual vows; but he persistently required that they remain "seculars," not "religious"; he meant that his purpose was to make them a religious community without cloister.

However, the infirmities of the old man grew worse from day to day. He used his last strength in the founding of the hospice for the aged and especially in the founding of the General Hospital.

Vincent de Paul, before his death, had the joy of seeing the

⁷ E. de Broglie, *Saint Vincent de Paul*, p. 125.

statutes of the Congregation of the Mission solemnly approved by Pope Alexander VII in a brief of September 22, 1655, and two years later the King's recognition of the Congregation of the Daughters of Charity, which received the approval of Rome in 1668. On September 27, 1660, after giving his last counsels to his successor in the government of the Priests of the Mission, the great servant of God and of the poor rendered his soul to God, as he uttered the word *Confido* ("I have confidence"). He was eighty-five years old. A bull of Clement XII (June 16, 1737) placed him in the number of the saints.

Parish Missions

In the organization of charity, St. Vincent's genius is incomparable; in the work of preaching the gospel to the people, divine Providence raised up admirable emulators. During the first part of the seventeenth century, Brittany was evangelized by Michel Le Nobletz, Normandy by John Eudes, Vivarais and Velay by Francis Regis, Lorraine by Peter Fourier, Provence by Anthony Yvan, Burgundy and Champagne by John Le Jeune. The Faubourg St. Germain in Paris was the field where Olier exercised his zeal.

Brittany, traditional and pious, jealously faithful to its language and its old customs, and gladly appealing, in its provincial assemblies, to the time of Queen Anne, had excelled all the provinces in preserving the faith of former times. But many superstitions were mingled with their old loyalties in consequence of the people's ignorance and sometimes that of the clergy. For almost forty years (1614-52) a holy Breton priest, a tireless apostle, Michel Le Nobletz, traversed the dioceses of Leon, Tréguier, and Quimper, visiting the cities and the country districts, adding repeated instructions to the example of a penitential life, and declaring war upon ignorance, vice, and superstitious practices.

Normandy, no less attached to its traditions, especially in legal matters, formed a striking contrast to Brittany. Rich, engaging extensively in commerce and industry, the opulent province had permitted the introduction of many abuses and vices. The most celebrated missionary who evangelized that district was John Eudes. In 1632 he began going through the dioceses of Coutances, Bayeux, Lisieux, St. Malo, and Séez. His missions lasted several weeks. With the help of a few auxiliaries, he neglected nothing to impress the minds of these people by the majesty and brilliance of ceremonies. At the close of a mission, public worship was displayed in all its pomp. To the liturgical offices were added outdoor meetings: obscene writings and pictures were there publicly burned. Leagues were formed against swearing, blasphemy, and dueling. But nothing moved the people's souls so much as the fiery eloquence of the holy preacher. "John Eudes' eloquence had none of the defects so often to be noted in the preaching before the time of Bossuet. Never did he indulge in the triviality of the preachers of the League or in the affected elegance of fine minds cherished in the salon of Madame Rambouillet. But from his contemporaries he took strong and colorful expressions; the daring of his direct appeal never went beyond the holy liberty of God's representative on earth." ⁸ His labors were crowned by the founding of the Congregation of the Good Shepherd for the reform of fallen women and by the spread of devotion to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. ⁹

Vivarais and Velay, inhabited by people who were energetic and sometimes harsh and stubborn like their sharp mountains, were still shaken by the religious wars that had drenched them in blood. Privas and Aubenas were strongholds of Protestantism. The Jesuit, John Francis Regis, born in the village of Fontcouverte in the diocese of Narbonne, preached in those

⁸ Henri Joly, *Le vénérable Jean Eudes*, p. 68.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-61, 177-87.

districts. Called by the Bishop of Viviers (1632) to defend the cause of religion against the heretics, he converted many of them, including two gentlemen, Count de la Mothe-Brion and M. de la Suchère, who seconded him in his undertakings. Beginning in 1636, he labored without interruption in Velay, preaching in Le Puy during the summer, visiting the neighborhood during the winter. Some striking conversions and the formation of associations of charity for the benefit of the poor, the sick, and prisoners, were the result of his visit. The rigor of the winters, the difficulties of the roads, nothing was able to stop his journeys. After establishing a house of refuge at Le Puy, he died at La Louvesc (December 31, 1640) in the midst of his labors. His tomb is today the object of veneration of these districts.¹⁰

In unfortunate Lorraine, ravaged by the wars, we find another apostle, whose name we have already met, St. Peter Fourier (1565-1640). We saw him, along with the pious Alix Le Clerc, founding the Congregation of Notre Dame and laboring at the reform of the canons regular in the abbey of St. Remi of Lunéville. He was a model pastor of Mattaincourt, instructing, exhorting, correcting, waging war on abuses, showing a special solicitude for the poor, seeming to live only for the good of souls. He was a holy priest.

Provence was the noblest part of old France. Its capital, Aix, took pride in its Latin name, its parliament, its Court of Commerce, and its university.¹¹ But, beneath its clear sky, in the mildness of its winters and the splendor of its summers, a sensual paganism, awakened by the Renaissance, enervated and ensnared men's souls. One of its sons, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, recalled the stern virtues that compensate for the light-hearted gaiety of life. His name was Anthony

¹⁰ John Francis Regis was canonized June 16, 1737, by Clement XII at the same time as Vincent de Paul. Cf. J. M. Cros, *Saint François Régis*.

¹¹ Hanotaux, *Hist. du Card. de Richelieu*, I, 184-86.

Yvan. Born at Rians (1576) of poor parents, he grew up amid privations imposed by poverty, amid daily labor that strengthened him. "Yet his religion, strict and almost rude, was also living, human, popular; this strict spiritual director was the mildest of men, always maintaining the reserve and high spirit, the sprightly good humor of the peasants of Provence. . . . Once he received the light of God, he lived for nothing else. 'I should like to be a thousand Yvans,' he said, 'that I might traverse the world and found houses of religious.' " ¹² He was successively pastor of Catignac, a hermit near Rians, missionary at Aix, founder, along with a holy young woman, Madeleine Martin, of the Sisters of Mercy, whose convents grew in number at Marseilles, Avignon, and Paris. Few men have carried further the love of crosses and the courage to bear them. ¹³ He died a saint on October 8, 1653.

For sixty years (1611-71) almost all France was the field that witnessed the apostolic zeal of Father John Lejeune, a priest of the Oratory. ¹⁴ Normandy, Picardy, Champagne, Burgundy, Touraine, Berry, Auvergne, Provence, and Limousin heard his forcible word, sometimes original to the point of trivial familiarity, but ever Christian, derived, not from the schools, but at the foot of the crucifix. "Lejeune was an outspoken, direct orator, not speculative in spite of brilliant flights, speaking close to the various classes of society." ¹⁵ He was known among the people under the name of "the blind priest." In fact, he had lost his sight while preaching a course of Lenten sermons in the cathedral of Rouen. The story is told that, during one of his sermons, he suddenly felt the cloud of blindness hide the sight of his hearers from him. After a short pause, he passed his hand over his eyes and continued speaking as if nothing had happened. But at the end of his sermon he

¹² Henri Brémond, *La Provence mystique au XVII^e siècle*, p. 8.

¹³ Picot, *Essai historique*, I, 434.

¹⁴ He was born at Poligny in 1592.

¹⁵ Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, I, 468.

held out his hands to guide himself and required someone's help as he came down from the pulpit. That was in 1631. The "blind father" continued his preaching for forty years more, and his abiding patience in his affliction added greatly to the effectiveness of his preaching.

But all this apostolic labor in the provinces could not produce lasting fruit for the Christian regeneration of France so long as Paris, its capital, contained the heart of licentiousness, heresy, and atheism. As we have already observed, that center was to be found in one of the faubourgs, that of St. Germain des Prés, the meeting place of all those who wished to live in a disorder of morals and an independence of mind. The St. Germain fair, lasting two months every year, increased the scandals of all sorts.

When, in 1642, Father Olier, accompanied by six priests and eight seminarians, took possession of the parish of St. Sulpice, in the center of that celebrated faubourg, he was aware of the greatness of his task. But the holy pastor also saw at once the means he would have to adopt to perform his difficult mission:¹⁶ the training of the young clerics, the sanctification of the doctors and priests; the instruction and sanctification of the people.

We have seen the servant of God laboring in the training of clerics by the founding of seminaries. For the sanctification of the priests, he judged that no more sure means could be found than that he and his companions should strive to sanctify themselves as much as possible: their example would be more effective than the most eloquent sermons.

In fact, the life of the priests working under the direction of Father Olier in the parish ministry of St. Sulpice was exemplary. They lived in community. A cassock of common serge was their street dress, and a surplice without lace was their dress in the sanctuary. Rising every day at five o'clock, some-

¹⁶ Olier, *Lettres autographes*, p. 18.

times earlier, they began their day by a meditation of three quarters of an hour, and a perpetual silence was strictly observed in the house outside the times of recreation. Their food was simple and frugal. For dinner they had a plate of soup and a small portion of boiled meat, without dessert; in the evening, a little roast lamb.¹⁷ The example was contagious. Soon, according to the report of Bishop Godeau of Vence, the other large parishes of Paris followed the example of the parish of St. Sulpice.

Such priests could now labor more effectively in the training and sanctification of the people. This was the third aim of Father Olier. His method was simple and practical. He divided his vast parish into eight sections, putting at the head of each a priest whose duty would be to ascertain the spiritual and temporal needs of his district. These priests, in turn, were aided by pious laymen, appointed to watch over each street. Besides these priests of the sections, others were appointed to bring the sacraments to the sick, to baptize, to bless marriages, to conduct the lesser burials, to hear confessions at any hour of the day. To make sure that this zeal was always conducted wisely, each day after dinner the superior had presented to him the cases and difficulties that arose in the parish. When he himself could not solve the difficulty, he sent some learned priest of the company to the Sorbonne to seek the solution.¹⁸

Of all the parish works, none was dearer to Father Olier than the work of the catechism classes. This work was assigned especially to the seminarians. The city of Paris was edified at the sight of these young men, most of them of distinguished families, seen on the streets of the poorest districts, as they visited the houses to call the children, then distributing to them bread and the word of the gospel, with that earnestness of zeal which the instructions and example of the venerated pastor

¹⁷ Du Ferrier, *Mémoires*, August 15 and 19, 1642.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

lighted in their young souls. Such was the origin of the catechism classes of St. Sulpice, where so many devout Christians and holy priests have been trained.¹⁹

The founding of several schools for poor children and the creation of a great work under the name of "House of Instruction" completed the parish organization of St. Sulpice.²⁰ The means of sanctification became so abundant and numerous that they were like the exercises of a continual mission. To all these works of charity the holy priest devoted himself with all his heart. One day he wrote as follows: "This morning my spiritual director gave me as my subject of meditation the importance of helping souls, and I felt my heart all on fire, I experienced desires to give to my God a thousand, nay, a thousand million lives, if I could do so, to procure some glory for Him." He wished especially that the heart of all the parish works of piety should be in the worship of the Blessed Sacrament and in that of the Blessed Virgin. To spend the day in work and the night at the foot of the tabernacle: such would have been the ideal of his life. Through him, as Fénelon says, "solid devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and to the Blessed Virgin, which was becoming dry and weak day by day through the criticisms of the innovators, was the real inheritance of the house of St. Sulpice."²¹

The Company of the Blessed Sacrament

The biographers of Father Olier tell us that, about 1635, the holy priest joined a "Company of the Blessed Sacrament." The same fact is reported of St. Vincent de Paul, Father de Condren, and John Eudes. The Company of the Blessed Sacra-

¹⁹ On the catechism method of St. Sulpice, which is preserved almost as Father Olier instituted it, see Faillon, *Méthode des cat. de Saint-Sulpice*; cf. Dupanloup, *L'œuvre par excellence*.

²⁰ Letourneau, *Le ministère paroissial de Jean-Jacques Olier*, pp. 107-11.

²¹ Faillon, *Vie de M. Olier*, I, 166.

ment was made up of laymen and clerics of all conditions: prelates, abbots, princes, state councilors, merchants, bourgeois, who met each Thursday afternoon. So much humility and charity prevailed among them that their meeting was an image of the first spirit of Christianity.²² In 1885, at the Bibliothèque nationale, the discovery of the *Annals of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament* and especially the complete publication of this precious document in 1900 by a Benedictine monk, Dom Beauchet-Filleau,²³ have thrown a definite light on that association. Its correct presentation here will be useful, because certain recent authors have distorted it, some regarding it merely as the shady politics of a cabal of pious people, and others so exaggerating its importance that the personal influence of Condren, Olier, and Vincent de Paul seemed to disappear or to be reduced to a mechanical execution of the orders of the powerful "secret society."²⁴

Among the fervent Catholics who were charmed by the writings of St. Theresa and of St. Francis de Sales and who were touched by the first charitable works of St. Vincent de Paul, several wondered whether the hour had not come for Christians living in the world to react against the spirit of the age and to unite with the priests in organizing an apostolic work. In place of the political and warlike League which their fathers had formed, the time seemed to have come for the formation, under an inspiration peaceful and strictly religious, of a league of piety and charity. A great lord, Henri de Lévis, duke de Ventadour, lieutenant general of the King in Langue-

²² *Ibid.*

²³ René de Voyer d'Argenson, *Annales de la Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, published and annotated by Dom Beauchet-Filleau, Benedictine monk.

²⁴ Such is the tendency of Raoul Allier in his book, *La Cabale des dévots*, which abounds with facts and interesting documents. But the reported facts themselves belie this tendency. St. Vincent de Paul in his works of charity appears less isolated than had been supposed until recent times. Probably no one will ever be able to say exactly what the saint owed to the pious Company, and what the Company owed to him.

doc, in 1627 became the earnest interpreter of these feelings with a few of his friends. Three holy priests to whom he communicated his idea (Father de Condren of the Oratory, Father Suffren of the Company of Jesus, and Father Philippe d'Angoumois, a Capuchin) approved it. Says Father Rapin:

The basis of his plan consisted in procuring the glory of God by doing real good and by hindering real evil. This program, including all sorts of good works in their full extent, determined the authors—the Capuchin, the Jesuit, and the Oratorian—to impose on this Company a universal spirit to work in every way to assist the neighbor without any limitations. Thus, taking for their model that greatness of soul which religion gave to the first Christians, who did not impose any limits on themselves when the interest of God and of neighbor was in question, the Company resolved to admit no one belonging to a religious community lest the work should assume any kind of particular spirit which fills each Order, and thus preserve that boundless charity of the first ages and that general spirit of the Church.²⁵

One of the first decisions of the new group was not to admit to membership any person belonging to a religious community.

The pious gentleman who took the initiative in this enterprise was of a sort to attract everyone's good will. A soldier renowned for his valor, well known in the highest society through his connection with the illustrious family of the Condes, Henri de Lévis, Duke de Ventadour, had kept in camp and at court an upright soul, delicate and pure, worthy of the finest ages of faith. In 1623 he married Marie Louise of Luxembourg. One morning (September 24, 1628) he and his wife appeared at the Carmelite church without a suite or carriage. There, in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed, they offered to God, in the simplicity of their heart, their pure conjugal love and transformed it into pure angelic love. The next year the young duchess entered the Carmelite convent of Avignon; the Duke

²⁵ Rapin, *Mémoires*, p. 326.

came back to Paris, doubly resolved to labor unremittingly for the glory of God and the good of souls.

The first rules of the Company reflected the spirit of piety and zeal of the noble founder. The chief purpose of the Company was the revival of the spirit of the first Christians, a profession of belonging to Christ by word and by holiness of life, the performance of all good works for the glory of God and the salvation of the neighbor.²⁶ The rules of the Society contained the following provisions: it is composed of ecclesiastics and laymen without distinction; three of the members are chosen to be respectively superior, spiritual director, and secretary; the superior may be an ecclesiastic or a layman; the spiritual director shall always be an ecclesiastic, who will see to it that the spirit of the rules is well kept; the Company shall meet once a week, on Thursday, the day consecrated to honoring the Blessed Sacrament; each member will there make a report of what he has done; but at the meeting no one will speak anything except what concerns the glory of God and the neighbor. The aims proper to the society are enumerated: the exercises and charitable object of the members will be the hospitals, the prisons, the sick, the poor, the afflicted, whoever have need of help, with regard to the magistrates the maintenance of the Christian government and the decrees against heretics, settlement of lawsuits and personal animosities, the drawing of people away from sin, the repression of all vices so far as possible, and lastly the favoring of whatever contributes to the glory of God, which each member will procure as much as he can either by himself or through others. A special article declares that the society will remain secret, having its basis only in a deep humility and charity, imitating as much as possible Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, who remains hidden there.²⁷

²⁶ "Règlement de la petite Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement à la campagne," in D'Argenson, *Annales*, p. 303.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 299-301.

Especially in this last article some persons thought they perceived the deliberate plan of a cabal. As several members of the new Company belonged to that group of zealous Catholics, called "the devotees," who, under the inspiration of Father de Berulle and Michael de Marillac, opposed the religious policy of Richelieu, some persons considered the new institution a "Cabal of Devotees."²⁸ A more natural and juster view would be to accept the explanation given by the Company itself: "The purpose of the secrecy is to provide the means of undertaking the works with greater prudence, to secure self-effacement and avoid contradictions, because experience shows that public display is the ruin of good works."²⁹ In fact, from the outset, the Company was known to Cardinal Richelieu, who encouraged it, to King Louis XIII, who took it under his protection, to the archbishop of Paris, Jean François de Gondi, who was asked to authorize the meetings, and lastly to the Pope, who was informed of the new foundation by two of the members, the Abbot of Loyac and M. de Brassac.³⁰ Gradually, however, in the face of suspicions on the part of the authorities and of certain opposition coming particularly from the Jansenist party, the rule of secrecy was made stricter to conceal the works of the Company even from some bishops and to be satisfied merely with a tacit approval of the Pope and to distrust particularly the intervention of Mazarin.

Meanwhile, "in Paris and in the rest of the kingdom, whatever persons were distinguished by their rank and by their piety wished to belong to this Society as soon as they began to learn of its spirit."³¹ Thus Father Rapin speaks in his *Mémoires*. Among these first members of the Company we note: the Marshal of Schomberg, Prince de Conti, Marquis of Liancourt,

²⁸ Raoul Allier, *op. cit.*, especially chap. 2.

²⁹ D'Argenson, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

³⁰ Allier, pp. 47-49; D'Argenson, p. vi; Rébelliau in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1903, p. 51.

³¹ Rapin, *op. cit.*, II, 327.

Count de Noailles, Count de Brassac, the Count of Fontenay-Mareuil, the magistrate de Mesmes, the future magistrate Lamoignon (at that time master of requests), Jean de Barraut (archbishop of Arles), and Jacques de Grignan (bishop of Uzès). Under the impulse of its founder and of the holy priests who encouraged it, the charitable society set to work with wonderful activity.

The Company's Activities

In that year 1627 the most crying needs of the people, if not the deepest, were those that came from the general wretchedness and from the plague. The plague lasted until 1632 and was at once followed by war and invasion, then (1642-53) by the increasing burden of taxes and by the civil war, and lastly (1659, 1660, 1662) by famine. During these thirty-five years of different and continual trials, the Company of Paris—to speak only of that one—was concerned not only with the capital but also with the environs and the most afflicted provinces: Champagne, Lorraine, Picardy. In 1632 its coffers were empty; several times it was in debt. In 1636 it had a tax put on meat for the benefit of the sick poor. It required the sisters to clothe and care for the little children of the sick women. It never was satisfied with merely giving the usual alms in money; it resorted especially to ingenious alms in kind, as when it sent wheat seed to the farmers of Picardy and Champagne, or when it distributed to the peasants of the Paris environs furniture and utensils to refurnish their devastated homes, or when it sent through France surgeons directed to operate gratis upon poor villagers.

The most remarkable work of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, in the way of charity, was perhaps the General Hospital. The question was discussed at the first meetings.

Means were sought for gathering together the poor who were at large on the Paris streets, and for housing them for their own material and spiritual good. M. du Plessis-Montbart, who was the first to envisage this great plan, and St. Vincent de Paul were engaged in realizing it whole-heartedly. The General Hospital, authorized in 1656 by a decree of Louis XIV, opened its doors on May 18, 1657. The first batch admitted numbered 5,000 vagabonds.³² In less than six years the General Hospital received or aided 60,000 indigent persons. Marseilles, Angoulême, Orléans, Toulouse, Grenoble, and Périgueux also soon had their General Hospital.

But the chief aim of the Society was to care for the public misfortunes in their moral causes. These causes were met with in the frequent immorality of the people, in the scandals of the great, in the culpable neglect of the public authorities and even of the clergy. The Company of the Blessed Sacrament, prompted only by its zeal, had the daring to attack each of these abuses.

In 1631, almost as soon as the Society was established, we see it concerned over the perils of the young women who, coming from the country districts to Paris, were exposed to many temptations. It hired a devout person who, in the Faubourg Montmartre, with difficulty taught twenty-four poor girls to read, write, and pray. Five years later, at Montmorency, it assisted an establishment whose purpose was to aid girls whose mothers had become impoverished.³³ The next year it aided the institute of the Daughters of Providence, who supplied an asylum for girls in moral danger.³⁴ In 1639 it decided to remove, from the arrival stations of the stages coming from the provinces, persons whose business it was to attract girls arriv-

³² At that time 40,000 beggars were to be found divided among the eleven courtyards of the Miracles at Paris.

³³ D'Argenson, p. 69; Allier, p. 73.

³⁴ D'Argenson, pp. 70, 85.

ing in Paris to the wretched procurers who were waiting for them and who would, under a pretext of charity, offer them a place of retirement.³⁵

The disorders in high society likewise received attention from the Company. With all its might it fought the two vicious customs that were the scandal of the great ones of that period: gambling and dueling. In this campaign, unfortunately it encountered a powerful opposition; the proprietors of gambling houses, whom it turned against, were protected by persons in high places; some enactments of Parliament, which it obtained with difficulty, were not carried out, and gambling penetrated even the court, where the young Queen was a passionate adept of it.³⁶ The campaign against dueling was temporarily more successful, but it raised against the Company a violent opposition that became the first cause of its ruin.

Dueling

About Father Olier, pastor of St. Sulpice, and under his direction, about 1646 a number of great lords (Baron de Renty, the Duke of Liancourt, the Marquis of Saint-Mesmes) gathered and agreed to break with the maxims of the age and to neglect nothing to abolish dueling, blasphemy, and swearing. Courage was needed to attack that prejudice about points of honor, which, with the applause of the nobility and of the court, daily set at strife against one another the bravest officers and made them, for quarrels often futile, pour out the blood they should have reserved for the defense of the country. A further step was made in 1651. One of the most outstanding partisans of the custom of dueling had been that Marquis de Fénelon who, enrolled in a Company at the age of sixteen, was always

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³⁶ Allier, p. 120.

distinguished by his deeds of valor. An excellent Catholic also, he used to rescue the wounded under the fire of the enemy, carried them on his shoulders, brought them back to the rear, and procured means for them to make their confession. The severe rebukes of Father Olier finally led him to distinguish the false points of honor, resulting from human respect, from true honor, resting on the judgment of conscience and of God. On Pentecost Sunday, 1651, along with some friends, he presented himself in the chapel of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and all together promised not to engage in personal strifes any more; thus the honor which gentlemen make not to go back on their promise obliged them henceforth to refuse dueling which the false points of honor had formerly made them accept.

Then arose an outcry of indignation among the gentlemen. People cried out against these "absurd devotees, who had probably the excuse of being lame." The great Condé himself said to the Marquis de Fénelon, "I have to be as sure of the fact of your valor as I am, not to be alarmed at seeing you to be the first to break the ice thus." But the steps taken by several members of the Company, particularly Father Olier, brought about the affiliation of a hundred great lords, whose courage was above any suspicion. Officers, who were covered with wounds received from the enemy, renewed the promise made by Fénelon and his friends. Marshal Schomberg, a member of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, obtained from the marshals of France a public approval to the resolution that had caused so big a scandal. On August 28, 1651, the Assembly of the Clergy of France issued anathema against "the insolence and the barbarism of duels." On September 7, at a bed of justice, King Louis XIV, renewing all the previous condemnations, declared that henceforth no pardon would be granted to the delinquents. The frivolous nobility living at the court never pardoned the "Cabal of Devotees" for its initiative in this affair.

The Laboring Classes

Among the causes of social disturbance, one, scarcely apparent in the first half of the seventeenth century, would be revealed by the future as the most formidable and most profound of all.

While famines and wars were spreading wretchedness everywhere, the development of great commerce and the perfecting of industrial methods had brought about profound changes in the condition of the laboring classes. "The patron of the Middle Ages, who worked in his shop with a few apprentices and companions, was replaced by a sort of proprietor. These men strove to derive the greatest profit from their money and from their workmen. They maintained the low price of manual labor and increased the hours of work."³⁷ The wretched condition of the workers was aggravated by the almost countless difficulties which they encountered to attain a mastership. A distinction was observed between the trades organized in corporations and the free trades. In the former, the masters, in those times of economic troubles, finding their advantage lay in not increasing the number of their competitors, complicated the examinations required for obtaining a mastership certificate. They required masterpieces that were costly and took a long time to produce, and they were easy only with the sons of masters or with companions who married the widow of a master.³⁸ In the free trades, becoming more and more numerous, where a person could become a master without a mastership certificate, obstacles were equally numerous; for the new industries which had given birth to most of these trades (for instance, printing and silk manufacture) generally required costly material, a large personnel, and considerable equipment.

A general uneasiness agitated the mass of workers. Lacking

³⁷ Mariéjol, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

the Church, which no longer had enough social influence to speak to them with authority and in which they did not have faith enough to hear with docility, the laboring class lent their ear to counsels of revolt and revolution. Since at that period revolt always took the color of heresy or blasphemy, the societies in which the malcontents were gathered assumed curious forms. A new association, the "Trade Union of Duty," became an impious counterpart of the Christian corporation. A member of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament soon discovered the revolutionary spirit and sacrilegious practices of this "trade union."

Among the most faithful members of the Company, which had gradually spread into all social classes, was a simple shoemaker. His name was Henry Buch or Buche. He was born at Erlon in Luxembourg. Endowed with remarkable graces from his childhood, Henry Buch early was detached from any worldly ambition and, in traveling from city to city, sought especially to win souls to God by his holy and novel persuasion. We see him in the stores and the cafes making himself a sort of missionary to the workmen. For him the supreme victory consisted in obtaining from a comrade the promise to make a general confession. Then he zealously instructed the new convert in the means for obtaining and preserving grace, he exhorted him to flee from evil companions and the occasions of sin, to go to the sacraments, to devote himself to prayer, and to attend the divine office often. At the same time he gave all he had, including himself, in the relief of the shoemakers in need. To provide the expenses of charity, he deprived himself of necessities and worked at night.³⁹

The reputation of the virtuous workman, of "good Henry," as he was called, spread into all the suburbs. It reached the ears of one of the principal members of the Company of the Blessed

³⁹ Vachet, *L'artisan chrétien ou la vie du bon Henry, instituteur des Frères Cordonniers*, p. 38; Allier, p. 196.

Sacrament, Baron de Renty, that great Christian whom the Protestant Burnet places among the greatest models that France furnished in the seventeenth century. The soul of the gentleman and that of the workman were made for mutual understanding. Baron de Renty was a convert. Naturally fiery and haughty, a scoffer, he had been detached from the illusions of the world by the reading of the *Imitation*. Thenceforth he became a model of edification at war and at court, as well as within his family. He early joined the Company of the Blessed Sacrament and was soon the soul of the pious society, which chose him eleven times as its superior. As his biographer says, "no undertaking concerning the honor of God and the good of the neighbor but had him for its author and promoter, or its doer, and sometimes both together."⁴⁰ This zealous gentleman grasped the aid which the pious workman could bring to the Company of the Blessed Sacrament and urged him to join the Society.

Thereafter a touching intimacy sprang up between the noble baron and the modest workman. They worked together like two brothers. They might be seen teaching catechism to the ignorant and the fallen-aways, the workman easily finding the words, images, and sentiments that spoke to the heart of his unfortunate comrades, and the gentleman making them understand a noble and lofty language by which these humble workmen felt their soul purified and enlarged. The "good Henry," always in quest of some new wretchedness, made them known to the generous baron, in whom he found, for the comfort and relief of his protégés, resources and helps such as he would not have dreamed of finding. When a poor man from the provinces had a case in court in the capital, Baron de Renty used his good offices with the judge to have the case tried promptly. When an unfortunate Paris workman decided to return to his village and his deserted home, from persons of standing in

⁴⁰ Saint-Jure, *La vie de Ch. de Renty*, p. 148. Cf. Faillon, *op. cit.*, II, 275.

Paris a letter of recommendation was obtained to the lord or pastor of the place he had come from.⁴¹

Trade Unions

At this juncture Henry Buch was surprised to hear, among his fellow workmen, strange talk, enigmatic allusions to things he did not understand. Sometimes the gestures were more mysterious than the words. When strangers would make these gestures or pronounce these words, they were at once treated as close friends. Henry Buch wondered what might lie hidden beneath these cabalistic practices. He observed more closely, he listened more attentively. He discovered the existence of the trade union. The first detail that he learned was enough to amaze him. The members of the "Trade Union of Duty" were bound to secrecy by a solemn and abominable oath. The initiated member had a sponsor and promised on his faith and his chance of paradise not to reveal to anyone anything he did or saw.⁴²

Buch spoke of this discovery to a few friends. Soon no doubt remained: they were in presence of an association dangerous for the Church and for society. Some details were particularly revealing. Among the saddle makers, for example, the reception of future members took place with a mockery of the Mass. The celebrant, taking a piece of bread and a little wine, said to the recipients: "This bread that you see is a figure of the true body of Christ; this wine that you see is a figure of His pure blood." The tailors erected a sort of altar with a cloth spread over it, and the new member was given a history full of impurities about the first three members. Says Vachet: "We do better to pass over in silence many things so as to spare the ears of simple persons and not to give to the wicked new ideas of crimes and sacrileges."⁴³ The spirit animating such associa-

⁴¹ Vachet, pp. 19-25, 33.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51. Cf. Lebrun, *Histoire des pratiques superstitieuses*, IV, 54; Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières en France*, I, 703.

tions was a spirit of strife and of hatred of the working class against the class of employers. In consequence the masters suffered great inconvenience. If, for example, a master in the slightest way displeased a member working for him, or if the member took a notion to offend the master and to take vengeance on him, he simply walked out; then all the other members working there were obliged by their trade union duty to walk out after him; and if they refused to do so, they were mistreated and were even in danger of their lives.⁴⁴

Thanks to the means of information which the Company of the Blessed Sacrament possessed, an investigation was opened and continued about four years. In 1638 it disclosed with certainty that an organized society, acting in the dark, had for its purpose, not only to form a workmen's association, with a common treasury and obeying a command to go on strike, but also to propagate sacrilegious rites in which the sacraments of the Church were horribly parodied.

The report and evidence of the inquiry were communicated to the Sorbonne, which (September 21, 1645) declared that the practices of the Companions of Duty contained sacrilege, impurity, and blasphemy, that the oath taken by the members was neither just nor lawful, and that the members were not in a state of safe conscience.⁴⁵

Workmen's Societies

But the two apostles knew well that institutions can be effectively suppressed only if they are replaced. On February 2, 1645, they founded the pious association of the Brother Shoemakers, whose rule was soon approved by the Archbishop of Paris.⁴⁶ Without pronouncing vows, the members lived to-

⁴⁴ Vachet, *op. cit.*, p. 60. Cf. H. Hauser, *Ouvriers des temps passés*; Martin Saint-Léon, *Le compagnonnage, son histoire, ses coutumes, ses règlements, ses rites*.

⁴⁵ Allier, pp. 199, 209.

⁴⁶ Vachet, pp. 69-81.

gether and wore uniform dress, consisting of a jacket, a cloak of tan-colored serge, and a rabat. They rose at five o'clock in the morning, had morning prayer in common, and then went to work. During their work, at the stroke of the clock, the superior recited a short prayer in French. They took turns in going to Mass. After night prayers they went to bed at nine o'clock. During meals, the brothers listened to reading, and every year they made a retreat of a few days. On fixed days they visited the hospitals, the prisons, and the sick poor at their homes.⁴⁷

In 1647 a community of Brother Tailors was founded on the same model. Similar associations were later established, under the patronage of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, at Soissons, Toulouse, Lyons, Grenoble, and other cities. They kept a large number of workmen from the dangers presented by the Society of the Companions of Duty.

Other Activities

All the dangers were not averted. In their inquiries into the miseries of the people, the members of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament often had occasion to note that many of the evils afflicting the common people were to be blamed on the neglect or ill will of the administrative and judicial authorities. The chief abuses of the public and judicial administration consisted in the partiality, at times revolting, by which frequently the interests of the poor and the feeble were sacrificed to those of the rich and powerful, and in the arbitrary harshness with which prisoners were treated. In 1643 the Company decided the superior should delegate every three months some persons capable of giving to the poor a disinterested help.⁴⁸

In 1655 it entrusted to two very experienced persons the care

⁴⁷ Allier, p. 202.

⁴⁸ D'Argenson, p. 90.

of offering some remedy for the abuses and the prolongation of lawsuits.⁴⁹ One of its members, Count Gilbert Antoine d'Albon, went further and proposed the formation of a Charitable Council to terminate lawsuits by friendly agreement.⁵⁰ Finally, just when the Company was dissolved, it was elaborating, with a view to stopping usury, the project of a society powerful enough to loan charitably and safely to persons in need.⁵¹ The Company followed with its solicitude the unfortunates who had fallen under the blows of public vindictiveness and was watchful that justice should not be violated in their persons. One of its first cares was to improve the lot of persons condemned to the galleys. It undertook consideration of this question in the last months of 1630.⁵² In 1636 the Company of Paris denounced certain police officers who took abusive advantage of the simplicity of the poor, arrested them arbitrarily, imprisoned them, and extorted from them a pretended "prison payment."⁵³ This obtained for the prisoners, upon payment of the wages of four guards, the privilege of passing a while outdoors from time to time instead of remaining buried in the dungeons where they rotted alive. For those who were sick, it also obtained the right to be loosed from their chains and to receive medicine and soup.

The Company could not stop there. In the work of assistance and reform that it undertook, it was inevitably led to go farther and higher. Its leaders could not hide from themselves that none of their endeavors in temporal relief or moral reform would have lasting results without a restoration of Christian morals. This desirable result seemed impossible to them without a re-establishment of true and solid piety in men's souls. Moreover, in all these works the intention of Christian propaganda had been continually present and dominant. It kept in

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁵¹ D'Argenson, p. 233.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 18; Allier, pp. 51-55.

⁵³ D'Argenson, p. 90.

mind the extension of the kingdom of God.⁵⁴ In its concern to re-establish piety in men's souls, the Company placed in the first rank the two objects that would become the center of the whole spirituality of the great saints of that period: devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and the dignity of the priesthood. A Protestant historian, author of the *Cabale des dévots*, says: "The continual thought of the Blessed Sacrament is what communicated an identical significance to all its works."⁵⁵ The Company, in fact, professed to be different from all other congregations and confraternities by its determination not to have a special spirit, but solely the general spirit of the Church. But the living soul of the Church has only one center: Jesus Christ living, interceding, immolating Himself, and giving Himself in the Blessed Sacrament of the altar; and the body of the Church has only one living authority: the priesthood, continuing the work of Christ, under the direction of the bishops and of the pope. Hence the two concerns of the Company: by every means to promote the worship of the Blessed Sacrament and the honor of the priesthood.

To aid the poor and devastated churches, to supply vestments and sacred vessels for the holy sacrifice, to make reparation by collective prayers and penances for the outrages committed against the Blessed Eucharist, to neglect nothing to obtain from the faithful the respect due to the churches, where God dwells: such were its ceaseless concern.⁵⁶ The scandals that were to be remedied were often most revolting. At the door of the church of St. Sulpice magical emblems were being sold.⁵⁷ At certain other churches a perpetual chattering and open flirting went on during Mass. At Notre Dame the evil was still greater.⁵⁸ The Company ascertained the facts, reported them to the Arch-

⁵⁴ Rébelliau, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1903, p. 68.

⁵⁵ Allier, p. 19.

⁵⁶ D'Argenson, pp. 36, 73, 107, 109.

⁵⁷ Faillon, *op. cit.*, II, 5.

⁵⁸ D'Argenson, pp. 51, 53; Allier, pp. 127-29.

bishop of Paris, denounced them to the King, brought them to the attention of Parliament, and ceased its remedial efforts only when it obtained strict decrees, precise orders, rigorous commands.⁵⁹ The publication of the documents regarding the Company of the Blessed Sacrament has shown that a great number of practices restored to honor in the seventeenth century by the ecclesiastical authorities with regard to the worship to be paid the Eucharist, to the good order of processions, to the observance of the liturgical regulations in exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and the celebration of the holy mysteries, were inspired by the pious society.⁶⁰

As regards the reform of the priesthood, the attitude of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament became more delicate. A society composed mostly of laymen might, indeed, intervene with utmost discretion in matters of piety and of liturgy. But by what right could it interfere in the reform of the clergy? Probably the members of the famous Company asked themselves this question with some anxiety. If sometimes they answered the question with untimely zeal, their excuse was the crying need to correct certain abuses.

In those churches where Massillon reproached his hearers with coming to the holy mysteries to stir up shameful passions and to make of the temple of God a meeting place of iniquity, we see a large number of vagabond priests who brought shame upon the priestly character; and several of them, although wearing the garb of priests, were really not priests at all. Some dressed as hermits that they might beg alms more freely and profitably in these borrowed religious habits.

Members of the Society in Paris did not hesitate to take the place of negligent priests to assure the proper behavior in the churches. In 1634 they drove out vegetable merchants who were cluttering the space in front of Notre Dame. In 1636 they

⁵⁹ Allier, p. 129.

⁶⁰ D'Argenson, pp. 51-53, 71, 72; Allier, p. 130.

succeeded in having the chapel of the Grand Châtelet closed, which was profaned by a multitude of indecencies. In the church of Quinze-Vingt, for greater security, they installed a sacristan of their choice and had the lamps lighted in the sanctuaries. In 1658 and 1660 they invited the Paris pastors not to tolerate indecent tapestries along the route of religious processions. Bearing in mind that under the regime of a state religion the civil authorities had a right and a duty to interfere in the protection of public worship, they appealed to the magistrates to have the legal feasts and the abstinence observed and to regulate the sale of meat on the forbidden days. They denounced to the authority the priests who celebrated Mass in an unbecoming manner and had them excluded from the ministry or even imprisoned at St. Lazare, where they were maintained at the Society's expense.⁶¹ The Company did indeed prosecute negligent priests, but it was especially concerned with stirring up holy priests and training them. We have already noted the efforts of three of the most influential members of the Society (Father de Condren, St. Vincent de Paul, and Jean Jacques Olier) for the improvement of the clergy. If the regency of Anne of Austria honored itself by the recruiting of an episcopate worthy of its high mission, credit for this condition should go especially to the presence of St. Vincent de Paul in the Council of Conscience and to the intervention of fellow members of the Society who kept him rightly informed.

Orthodoxy of the Company

In carrying out so many undertakings of a diverse and delicate nature the Company of the Blessed Sacrament sometimes went beyond the limits of its competence. But it was kept from any harmful deviation by two feelings that were always dominant in it: an invariable attachment to the Supreme Pontiff

⁶¹ Rébelliau, *loc. cit.*, p. 73.

and an uncompromising opposition to all heresy. Again and again D'Argenson declares the loyalty of the Company to the Roman doctrines, its filial submission to the doctrinal decision of the popes. From the outset Father de Condren, through the mediation of the nuncio and of Father de Brassac, French ambassador at Rome, had tried to obtain a papal brief of approval. The pope merely blessed the society as a work of edification and piety and granted it the favor of several indulgences. The Company asked for something more, but did not insist,⁶² resigning itself to the fulfillment of a hidden mission, lacking precision, ill defined, which perhaps was thus the more effective. Yet it remained no less strictly attached to the Roman Church.

This fact is evident from its attitude to Protestantism and Jansenism. The Protestants, obstinately denying the mystery whose glorification was the Company's special task, had no more determined adversary than the Company of the Blessed Sacrament. Some even regarded it as a survival of the Holy League. Indeed it proceeded from the same spirit. As Father Bourdoise said somewhat crudely, "most priests remained with folded arms; God had to stir up laymen, cutlers and haberdashers, to do the work of the lazy priests."⁶³ As in the League, priests and laymen, noble and peasant, were mingled in an association without official connection with the hierarchy. As in the League, the Society had a single aim: to preserve in France the religious ideal of the ancestors by purging the country of all heresy and infidelity. The debates at Metz in 1654, the missions in Le Puy in 1653 and at Limoges in 1660 for the conversion of the Protestants, were undertaken in this spirit by the zealous Company. In 1652 a monthly fund was established for the new converts.⁶⁴ They tried to exclude Huguenots from

⁶² D'Argenson, p. 24.

⁶³ Faillon, *op. cit.*, II, 368.

⁶⁴ D'Argenson, p. 131.

the liberal professions, particularly from the practice of medicine, by which these heretics seduced Catholics from the true faith.⁶⁵ In the Faubourg St. Germain the Company had a Huguenot academy closed,⁶⁶ denounced and refuted Protestant pamphlets, such as Dumoulin's *Anatomie de la Messe*,⁶⁷ and continued to be watchful over the sermons, publications, and other attempts of proselytism by the so-called Reformers.

The Company was equally opposed to Jansenism. The society founded by the Duke de Ventadour and that directed by St. Cyran were not without some similarity. Both aimed at leading the Church back to the purity of its discipline and doctrine. Both, more or less secret, made up of priests and laymen, included eminent persons, powerful friends at court and in the nobility of sword and robe. In 1630, by Sebastian Zamet (bishop of Langres), a zealous member of the Company and auxiliary of Mother Angélique, by Father de Condren and St. Vincent de Paul, who had friends on both sides, by the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament which counted its most fervent followers on both sides, a connection seemed to exist between the two societies. This was broken on the day when the leaders of Port Royal openly manifested the position they had taken with regard to the Church. Father Vincent felt a shiver of alarm upon hearing the Abbé de St. Cyran declare that, according to his view, no Church existed any longer, and that such had been the case for the past five hundred or six hundred years.⁶⁸ Condren and Zamet shared the feelings of St. Vincent de Paul. Thenceforth the Company resolved to oppose that condemned doctrine as a declared heresy. At every election of its officers—superior, treasurer, and secretary (which they usually held every three months)—these leaders

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 74, 84.

⁶⁸ Abelly, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 412.

were chosen from the ranks of those who cried out : No Jansenists. Thereafter great care was taken to refuse membership to Jansenists.⁶⁹

Opposition to the Company

After thirty years of tireless activity, the Society founded by the Duke de Ventadour had fully succeeded in gathering all classes of society in a mighty common effort for the restoration of faith and Catholic morals. Since the great movement of the third orders in the Middle Ages, the Christian people had never given a more notable example of docile initiative and prudent courage. But the very success of the work, as inevitable indiscretions revealed its existence and organization, stirred up against it bitter hatreds and mounting animosities. To the workingmen belonging to the Companions of Duty, who were irritated by the Sorbonne's condemnation, and to the great worldly lords who did not pardon the campaign against dueling, were now added statesmen, jealous at seeing private initiative taking their place, even for the good of France.

The absolute monarchy, though doing little to improve the general well-being and the public order, did not wish to have anyone else do so. Its councilors and theorists assiduously advised it not to permit anyone to encroach upon the attributes of sovereignty. In 1652 the parliamentarian Le Bret, in his *Traité de la souveraineté des Rois*, claimed for the royal authority not only the instituting of the major administrations, such as the postal service, but also that of the universities, schools, and academies, as likewise the exclusive right to prevent by police regulations the corruption of good morals. He demanded for the King the privilege of great charities, for, he said : "Although they are most praiseworthy in all sorts of people, yet he who engages therein beyond the sovereign Prince makes

⁶⁹ Rapin, *op. cit.*, II, 331.

himself suspect to the state." In 1649 one of the official publicists of the French court, Samuel Sorbière, translated one of Hobbes' books in which the author holds that the king is established to take a hand in all parts of the life of the nation as God Himself, and that, with regard to individuals, the public tranquillity is harmed if they are disposed to entertain the ambition of good services.

The members of the Society of the Blessed Sacrament took account of this state of mind. Du Plessis-Montbard (1657) wrote: "Our employments, by their diversity and by their strength, belong rather to sovereigns than to us." The Society included: a group of high nobles, "the devotees," as they were called, great officers of the court, such as the Prince de Conti, the Marquis de Fénelon, and Marshal Schomberg; important magistrates such as Lamoignon, Ormesson, and Séguier; prominent prelates and influential priests, such as Bishop Godeau, Grandin (a doctor of the Sorbonne), Father Olier (pastor of St. Sulpice). All these joined hands in a common activity and more than once took part in political strifes, as they did manifestly at the time of the cabal of the Important and on occasion of the trial of the superintendant Fouquet. Cardinal Mazarin, though unacquainted with the organization of the Society, could not view this situation without distrust.

In public opinion a vague movement of unrest was evident, which was sometimes justified by acts of imprudence and excesses of zeal. The moral reforms undertaken by the Company seemed excessively harsh to some; its inquiries seemed indiscreet. The Jansenists, who were strong in their influence upon the opinion of high society and who were quite aware of the disposition of the "party of the devotees" toward them, lost no occasion to discredit them. The libertines nourished the same attitude toward them. In the seventeenth century, "about the young King who was on the point of assuming power, a whole party labored silently, despite the converted Anne of Austria,

to perpetuate laxity of morals and of thought which her regency restrained. In the group of the Countess de Soissons, the Princess Palatine, and the Duchess of Orléans, of the Count of Harcourt, of the Marquis de Vardes, and of Marshal de Gramont, the "devotees" were ridiculed and were opposed as rivals for power. At least at Paris, the bourgeoisie of the lawyers and doctors made common cause with the epicureans or literary free lances and also with the sensual courtiers.⁷⁰ The spirit of the world could not endure the Company.⁷¹

That world had a chance to rejoice maliciously when, in 1660, two pamphlets appeared denouncing the activities of the Company: one attacking the Company at Caen, the other against the activities of Argentan and Séez. According to these charges, Lower Normandy had been, for several months past, much disturbed by a group of priests and young men who met in a house called the Hermitage and who went about in the city to make extravagant manifestations. One day they were seen stirring up the people with outcries that all the Caen pastors, except two, were disciples of Jansenism. Another day a group, under the leadership of a priest, shouted vigorously with wild gestures, urging the faithful to flee to Canada if they wished to preserve the treasure of the faith, which was being endangered by the Jansenists.

That some acts of extravagance, more or less exaggerated in the two pamphlets, had been committed by members of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, seems likely. But an attempt to make the whole Company responsible was unjust. Yet such was the contention of the two authors. One of these was the Jansenist Nicole. He plainly and expressly names the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, which was denounced as a se-

⁷⁰ Rébelliau, *loc. cit.*, p. 898.

⁷¹ See Perrens, *Les Libertins en France*; and Victor Giraud, *Pascal*, Index (s.v., Libertins).

cret society, acting against the King, the bishops, and the magistrates.

The stir produced by the publication of these pamphlets was enormous. The authors had a large number of copies printed and sent them to all the civil authorities and ecclesiastical superiors, and spread them profusely among the people. On September 28, 1660, Guy Patin, in a letter to his friend Falconnet, spoke with feeling of the discovery of this conspiracy and denounces this "congregation which has an understanding with the same confraternity at Rome and which plans to introduce the Inquisition in France."⁷²

The tribunals of justice were moved and (December 13, 1660) a court decision "forbade all persons of whatever quality and condition to hold any meetings in this city or elsewhere without the express permission of the King and certified letters patent."

At the time of this decree, the president of the Company was Lamoignon. Owing to his intervention, the Company was not at once dissolved; from 1660 to 1665 it was still able to have meetings. But plenary sessions, which until then had been weekly, were now rare. The relations of the Paris Company with the provincial Companies gradually ceased and, about the end of 1665 or the beginning of the next year, the last elements of the Society completely disappeared.

According to the *Mémoire* of Count d'Argenson, the only solid and permanent works of the Company that survived its ruin were: the Company of Prisons, the Company of new converts, the Company for the spiritual succor of the sick and the dying in the Hôtel-Dieu, the Companies of Ladies, the parish Companies for the well-to-do who had become impoverished, and especially the General Hospital and the Society of Foreign Missions. In fact, the spirit of charity and apostolic zeal,

⁷² Guy Patin, *Lettres choisies*, II, 123.

which it had helped to spread among the clergy and the world in general, even beyond the circle of its members, outlived it. Again and again we shall meet its influence in the course of the history of the seventeenth century.⁷³

⁷³ On the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, see, besides the works already cited, A. Auguste, *La Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*; Maurice Souriau, *La Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement de l'autel*; Féron, *Contribution à l'histoire du jansénisme en Normandie*.

CHAPTER VI

The Foreign Missions

THE earnest proselytism of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, from the Society's very beginning, reached beyond France and Europe. The Duke de Ventadour, its founder, had acquired (1625) from his uncle, the Duke de Montmorency, the office of viceroy of Canada and was eager to enter upon negotiations with the Recollect Fathers to organize the spread of the gospel there. His project was to settle large colonies there, where efforts would be made to establish the Indians in a settled life and to found schools where the young Indians would be taught.¹ Later the Company was interested directly in the foreign missions. The Marseilles group was, by its location, indicated to act as intermediary. To them the Paris brothers wrote as follows: "Gentlemen, we take great promise for the future from so great fervor in the situation in which you are. We hope that you will carry over seas the good odor of the God of heaven to all the places of earth where your sailors direct their commerce and where your soldiers carry their victories." In 1653 D'Argenson noted that "there were great foreign mission undertakings in which the Company was much interested. It made wonderful contributions for the spiritual comfort of the Hebrides, the Irish Orcades, the English coast, and the islands of America." ²

But in this work of the distant missions, the members of the Blessed Sacrament encountered an organization already solidly established. We must now go back to a somewhat earlier period

¹ Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie française au Canada*, I, 210.

² D'Argenson, *Annales*, p. 135.

to trace the history of this movement and thus better grasp its providential development.

The great efforts of internal revival in the Church were almost always accompanied by great movements of external propagation. Even while St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Charles Borromeo, St. Francis de Sales, and St. Vincent de Paul were laboring to restore Christian life and ecclesiastical life, new missionaries were repeating the wonders of the apostles of the first century, of the Benedictines of the seventh century, of the mendicant friars of the thirteenth. They had spread not only in Europe,³ but also in Asia, in Africa, in the newly discovered regions of America, and had won to the Catholic faith more souls than Protestantism had taken from it. Without as within the Church, a period of great vitality followed a period of decadence.

St. Francis Xavier (1506-51)

Francis Jassu de Xavier was born on April 7, 1506, in the château of Xavier at the foot of the Pyrenees, seven or eight leagues from Pamplona in that upper Navarre which for some time had belonged as a fief to the crown of France.⁴ This name of Xavier perpetuated one of the most ancient and illustrious families of the country. Remarkable aptitudes and a pronounced taste for study made him early choose the career of teaching in preference to that of arms, which all his brothers had embraced. In 1525 he came to the University of Paris. The remarkable gifts of his mind, his brilliant imagination, the

³ In Europe, in all the countries fallen into heresy or schism, the attitude of the Church had been not merely defensive. In Germany the missions preached by Canisius and his disciples resulted in the conversion of several Protestant theologians. In Switzerland, thanks to the efforts of St. Charles Borromeo, St. Fidelis Sigmaringen, and St. Francis de Sales, seconded by the Capuchins and Jesuits, the conversions had been much more numerous; the Bishop of Basle and the Abbot of St. Gall had recovered their former jurisdiction over many districts.

⁴ On the exact date of the birth of St. Francis Xavier, see Charles Cros, *François Xavier, documents nouveaux*, p. 132.

youthful and somewhat tumultuous vivacity of his character, the attraction of his noble and likeable features, soon drew upon Xavier the attention of his fellow students and of his professors. He received his master's degree in March, 1530. The next October he was appointed to publicly comment on Aristotle at the college of Beauvais.

The young professor did not at that time think of anything but to make a name for himself in the educational world. With this aim in view, he even began to join with several young men inflamed by the new ideas. The conversations of one of his countrymen, Ignatius Loyola, would lead him to an ideal more worthy of his Christian faith. Ignatius, who had already decided to form a company of zealous and learned men, cast his eyes upon the young man of Navarre. He used to repeat to Xavier: "What does it profit a man to gain the whole world if he loses his soul?" We read that the brilliant young Xavier began by poking fun at the poor student who, simple and poorly dressed, kept repeating the same maxim every time he met him.⁵ Ignatius' insistence and the power of the truth finally overcame him. Some spiritual exercises, performed under the direction of his friend, fixed him in his resolve to devote himself to God and souls. On August 15, 1534, he was one of the seven who, in the chapel of Montmartre, vowed themselves to a life of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Thenceforth the desire to go and preach the gospel to the infidel nations of the Indies never left him. His vows were soon made good.

Shortly afterward he received the following word from his superior, Ignatius, who wrote to him in the name of Pope Paul III: "By counsels far higher than those of our feeble judgment, it is you, Francis, who are destined to the mission of the Indies. This overseas journey to barbarous countries, which we have earnestly desired and which we waited for so long at Venice, is now offered to us at Rome. No longer is it, as we

⁵ Cf. Fouqueray, *His. de la C^{ie} de Jésus en France*, I, 41.

asked, a single province that God gives us, but the entire Indies, a whole world of peoples and nations." The apostolic field here indicated by St. Ignatius would become even vaster. Not only to the Indies, but also to Japan and China St. Francis Xavier would go and there start the greatest movement of religious expansion that has occurred since the preaching of the apostles.

India, which a tradition says was evangelized by St. Thomas and which even yet has a few groups of Christians, with a more or less altered faith, who claim to trace back their conversion to the illustrious apostle,⁶ presented the most formidable obstacles to the spread of the Christian faith. The old Brahmanism, that complex religion so well adapted to the Hindu race with its polytheism appealing to the popular soul and its fundamental pantheism furnishing philosophers and poets with the subject of the most brilliant speculations, seemed indestructible. Buddhism, born on the soil of India in the sixth century of our era, was unable to supplant the ancient worship and had taken root only in the two extremities of the country (in Ceylon and Nepal) and especially beyond the frontiers, in China and Japan. The division of the people into different castes, mutually exclusive, and the absolute authority of the Brahmans, lofty personages, untouchable, jealous guardians of the old rites and distrustful of foreigners, seemed to erect insurmountable barriers between the religion of Brahma and any outside influence. The difficulties were increased by the bad example given to the peoples of these countries by the Portuguese merchants and soldiers, who for them were the only representatives of the religion and civilization of Europe. None of these obstacles dismayed Xavier. He was not exaggerating when he said: "I fear God, and nothing else in this world." As he stepped ashore at

⁶ "The apostolate of St. Thomas in India is a fact attested by the early ecclesiastical annals, Greek, Latin, and Syriac" (Assémani, *Diss. de Syris Nestorianis*, IV, 439). Cf. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, p. 440.

Goa (May 6, 1542), the apostle rejoiced at sight of a cross planted on the bank.

The heroic practice of the Christian virtues and of religious observances had moderated that ardent soul. Nothing could be more prudently calculated than his apostolic method. His first two concerns were: to inquire carefully into the customs and traditions of the peoples so as to avoid every clash and scandal; to prepare for preaching by fervent and assiduous prayer. He could not fail to see that the first obstacle to overcome was that which arose from the bad morals of the Portuguese. But he could not make an immediate frontal attack on the conduct of these hard and dissolute men. Xavier began by preaching the gospel to the children. Every day, after a long invocation of God in prayer, he walked through the city of Goa, ringing a hand bell. He would cry out: "Christian faithful, friends of Christ, send your sons and your daughters, as also your slaves of both sexes, that they may hear the holy doctrine, for the love of God."⁷ Before this world of little people, before these poor slaves, the former professor of the Beauvais college, the brilliant commentator of Aristotle, adapted his intelligence, generally made use of a sort of Portuguese patois, the only language that his hearers could understand,⁸ and he found in his heart pathetic accents that moved souls. People admired him, they fell in love with him, they were edified by his mere presence.

However, an imperious feeling drew him to the pagans. On the eastern shore of Cape Comorin some pearl fishers had already been baptized by Portuguese priests. But their religion was superficial and not very firm. Xavier visited village after village, accompanied by some Tamil interpreters. At the sound of his hand bell, he gathered men and children, recited the usual prayers and the articles of faith. On Sunday he gave

⁷ Cros, *Saint François Xavier, sa vie et ses lettres*, I, 216.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

longer instructions. He entered into their cabins, talked with the poor people, won their heart, taught them patiently. Then, when the instruction of the neophytes seemed to him to be sufficient, he baptized them. Soon not only isolated individuals asked for Christian instruction; but people came to him in throngs. His arms grew tired and his voice became hoarse in administering the sacrament. "Often," he wrote, "my hands became exhausted; sometimes my voice was so tired that I could not speak." ⁹ He visited the huts to baptize the dying and the newly born. In fact, the tireless apostle had absolute confidence in the supernatural efficacy of the sacrament of baptism. He wrote: "Nobody can tell all the fruit that is derived from the baptism of the new-born. . . . These baptized children soon showed an eager love for the divine law." ¹⁰

In a short time thirty villages were evangelized. In each village Xavier left a catechist whose duty it was to continue the instruction, to have the articles of faith sung on Sundays and feast days. What he now begged from the Portuguese authorities, what he asked of his European friends, in tones of burning eloquence, was priests to help him. In one of his letters he writes: "Often the thought comes to my mind, to visit the universities of Europe, especially the University of Paris, and cry out to all those doctors who have more knowledge than charity: 'Behold these thousands of souls which, through your fault, are losing heaven and falling into hell.' " ¹¹

On the two southern coasts of the Hindustan triangle he proclaimed to all, from the pariahs to the Brahmas, not as formerly Buddha did at the other end of India "the good law of Nirvana," but "the good tidings of eternal life." ¹² However, while the pagans were won to the faith by the holy missioner,

⁹ Pagès, *Lettres de saint François Xavier*, I, 81.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-85.

¹² Brugère, *Tableau de l'histoire de la litt. de l'Eglise*, p. 894.

the irregular morals of the Portuguese, their abuse of power, their impiety, scandalized these simple souls. At Cochin, especially at Malacca, the peril was urgent. In vain Xavier begged of the government a regime of severe repression. He then turned his apostolic activity to these bad Christians. With his bell in his hand, he visited the European quarters of the city. "Pray," he cried out, "pray for all those who are in mortal sin. Pray for the departed who are suffering in purgatory."

At Malacca (July, 1547) he met a Japanese, named Anjiro or Anger, "seeking peace of conscience and of heart." Xavier instructed him and baptized him. But his relations with Anger called his attention to that active, intelligent, people, eager for learning and prompt in action, which the neophyte made known to him.¹³ On June 24, 1549, provided, through the care of the governor of Malacca, with rich presents for the Mikado, he turned toward Japan, accompanied by Anger, who now bore the name Paul of Holy Faith, and by two Jesuits. Sailing on a Chinese junk, on August 15 he landed at Kagoshima on the island of Kyushu.

In Japan were two religions: 1. Shintoism (shinto = path of the gods), which in its origin was confused with the beginning of the nation and which, having no dogmas, consisted in the worship of the great men of the country; 2. Buddhism, imported from India in the sixth century. To acclimate Buddhism more easily, the bonzes had cleverly fused it with the national religion, giving the people to understand that the gods of India were none other than the gods of Japan under different names. In their Shintoist temples the Japanese let the bonzes celebrate the Buddhist ceremonies. But the essential spirit of Shintoism, which was a grim devotion to the divinized nation, survived this superficial and arbitrary fusion. The Buddhist bonze, lazy and corrupt, spent whole hours meditating on this maxim, "There

¹³ See his letter of January 20, 1549, in Cros, *op. cit.*, I, 408.

is nothing." Thus he was never attractive to this active people, which had a God, namely, the fatherland, and a worship, that of honoring this God.

Japan's political constitution was strictly feudal. The authority of the emperor, or dairi, in principle was absolute, and in reality nominal. In fact, it resided in the lords (daimios), served by men of arms (samurai), and represented before the sovereign by a lieutenant general (shogun).¹⁴

The religious and political situation of the country favored the apostolate of Xavier. His firm and decided manner, the chivalrous spirit which he derived from his race, his lofty intellectual culture, which the simplicity of his speech did not hide, pleased feudalists, who prided themselves on their love of letters as well as on their bravery. The missionary had hoped to establish contact with the sovereign of the country; but this he was unable to do. However, several of the most powerful daimios authorized him to preach in their states, and several samurai placed themselves at his service. The apostle exulted with joy; he called Japan "the delight of his soul." At one time we see him, on some elevated place where he preached, explaining the truths of the faith; at another time we see him in some abandoned bonzerie which has been placed at his disposal by the local lord, where from morning to night he answers the countless questions of visitors impatient for solution of their doubts. He scarcely had time to eat. Part of the night he spent in prayer. But his courage did not weaken. Writing to his brethren in Europe, he said: "I am old; I am all white. Yet I feel myself as robust as ever, for the hardships that one undergoes to convert a reasonable nation that loves the truth and sincerely wishes its salvation, is a deep joy for the heart." Moreover, God renewed, in his behalf, the gift of the most wonderful miracles. He preached in different languages, foretold the future, cured the sick, brought the dead back to life.

¹⁴ Francisque Marnas, *La religion de Jésus au Japon*, I, 4-6.

His enemies were especially the bonzes, who, seeing the people on the point of slipping from them, filled the air with their clamor, seeking to disturb the meetings where the saint addressed the throng, intriguing with the lords, and even obtaining from the prince of Sassuma a decree against Christianity, closing the temples in sign of alarm, and seeking to stir up the people. In a series of famous conferences lasting three days, the saint easily succeeded in destroying the scaffolding made up of their calumnies and in showing the hollowness of their beliefs. In short, at the end of 1551, after a sojourn of twenty-seven months in Japan, Xavier had baptized thousands of infidels, won to his cause the heart of many princes, and confounded the idolatry in the pride of its priests.¹⁵ Then a decision of Ignatius appointed him the first superior of the province of the Indies, recently created. Xavier returned to the region that had been the first fruits of his apostolate. But, faithful to his motto of *Amplius, amplius*, he thought of new conquests. His hope now was to win to Christianity the country whose name was uttered with veneration in the Indies as it was in Japan, a country that seemed to be the nursery of Asiatic civilization, China.¹⁶

China received its Buddhism from India. With it two other religions were mingled: Taoism and Confucianism. "Remember that all movement leads to nothingness," said Buddha. "Let yourself be moved by the divine breath that produced heaven and earth," said Laotse, the founder of Taoism. "Practice the worship of the family and for the rest adapt yourself to the circumstances," said Confucius. In these words will be found the whole mentality of the Chinese, with its indolent conservatism,

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Böhmér, *Les Jésuites*, p. 155. The apostolic career of St. Francis Xavier and the order in which he accomplished his various missions seem to have been determined by prudent and enlightened reflection. We wonder, therefore, what reason Böhmér, after saying that Francis "had an almost unequalled talent as an organizer," proceeds to remark that "Xavier nowhere acted with perseverance, but was a restless vagabond from place to place" (Böhmér, *op. cit.*, p. 150).

its opportunism from day to day, its vague pantheism, and its worship of ancestors.¹⁷ To enter that immense empire, to separate from such beliefs the craving for the supernatural that lay hidden in them, and to meet that craving by preaching of the Catholic truth: this was Xavier's desire. But the demands and cruelties of the Portuguese merchants closed all the ports of China. Only an embassy from a European sovereign could cross the frontiers. A wealthy merchant, Pereira, offered to pay for Xavier the expenses of an embassy. But the governor general of Malacca, representative of the king of Portugal, not only refused to grant Xavier the diplomatic title which the apostle requested; he placed an embargo on his ship. In vain Xavier, employing his powers as papal legate, issued an excommunication against the governor, who was guilty of hindering the spread of the gospel. Xavier was thus forced to attempt a secret entry into China.

Along the southern coast of the Celestial Empire, not far from the port of Macao, is a little island, dry and barren, called Sancian, where the Chinese authorities allowed foreign ships to deposit their merchandise. Here Xavier landed and lodged in a wretched hut with the intention of waiting patiently for the providential circumstance that would enable him to enter China. But he lacked everything: the two interpreters whom he had attached to himself deserted him; the Chinese merchant who, in return for a huge payment furnished by Pereira, had promised to facilitate Xavier's passage of the frontier, did not keep his word.¹⁸ A malignant fever seized the missionary. The crew of the ship that brought him there, fearing the wrath of the governor of Malacca, abandoned him. After five days of illness, Xavier breathed forth his soul to God (November 27,

¹⁷ On the religions of China, see *Dict. apolog. de la foi cath.*, art. "Chine," by Father Léon Wieger, S.J. This article is based entirely on original Chinese sources.

¹⁸ Letter of October 22, 1552, in Cros, *op. cit.*, II, 320.

1551).¹⁹ He was forty-six years old and had consecrated ten years to the foreign missions.

During those ten years of his apostolate, Xavier had converted several hundred thousand men.²⁰ As if he had foreseen, on the part of the yellow race, at the beginning of modern times, a peril similar to that which the Mussulman world had aroused in the Middle Ages, he endeavored to bring the light of the gospel to the three chief centers of civilization in the Far East. India, Japan, and China itself, to which the fame of the great apostle reached and which could not help but venerate his grave as that of a hero, were touched by the Christian influence. Xavier's successors merely had to walk in his footsteps.

The Jesuits in India

In India, Francis Xavier had evangelized the Fishery Coast, Travancore, and the north of Ceylon. After his death, his brethren of the Company of Jesus turned their steps in large numbers toward the breach he had opened. Fifty years later they had two large provinces in the Indies: in 1660, more than four hundred Jesuits were there devoting themselves to the service of souls.

But their apostolate did not yet reach any but the lower castes. The Indian of the upper classes despised the converted pariahs, and these foreign preachers, these impure *Pranguis* who ate any kind of food, who defiled themselves by all sorts

¹⁹ For the moving details of this death, see the report of Antonio de Santa Fé, a Chinese catechist, in Cros, *op. cit.*, II, 341-54. This catechist was the only person who witnessed the saint's death. From his account it seems certain that St. Francis died on Sunday, November 27, not December 2, as has been generally accepted. This historical correction, defended by Father Cros, has the approval of Father Van Ortro, Bollandist (*Anal. bolland.*, XXIII, 410).

²⁰ *Multa centena hominum millia*, says Urban VIII in his bull of canonization (August 6, 1623). Father de Rhodes speaks of 300,000 or 400,000. Father Brou, in his *Vie de saint François Xavier*, thinks this figure should be much reduced.

of contacts. These men without any caste and consequently without morals, aroused only repulsion among the high caste Indians. In 1608 a Jesuit, Robert de' Nobili, resolved to turn to the Brahmans themselves. His companion Laerzio says:

Penetrated with the grand thought that Jesus Christ came for the salvation of all men, that He must everywhere triumph over the demon, destroy his kingdom, and release his captives, recognizing also the true cause of an obstinacy so frightful and perverse, Father Robert de' Nobili resolved to apply to this evil an effective remedy. Imitating the example of St. Paul, who became all things to all men, and that of the Eternal Word, who became man in order to save men, Father Robert said within himself: "I also will make myself an Indian in order to save the Indians." He saw at a glance all which this sublime purpose involved, and without fear he accepted all.²¹

Like many of his brethren of the Society of Jesus, Robert de' Nobili was of noble ancestry. Nephew of Cardinal Belarmine and a close relative of Pope Marcellus II, he had renounced the brilliant destiny which the world offered him and embraced the poor and devoted life of a missionary. To win souls for Christ, no labor seemed to him too great. He turned to a Saniassi or Brahman penitent of the Malabar Coast, bought for himself the red cap, the veil, and the muslin dress of the Saniassi. Then he shaved his head, painted his forehead with the yellow paste of sandal-wood, and retired to a grass hut and there lived as a solitary, eating only vegetables and drinking nothing but water. At the same time he studied the sacred books of the Hindus and soon succeeded in having a thorough understanding of their most secret doctrine.

Little by little the renown of the great Saniassi who had come from the West, spread through the countryside. The most famous scholars sought audience with him. All were enchanted by the distinction of his manners, fascinated by his eloquence, amazed by the readiness and purity with which he expressed

²¹ Quoted by Marshall, *Christian Missions*, I, 219.

himself in their tongue and by the quotations he could adduce by memory from their most famous authors. Some Brahmans asked his advice on perfection and enlightenment on the most obscure points of their doctrines.

The old Brahman whom he had chosen for his teacher was his first conquest. Soon a score of other Brahmans imitated him. Father Robert de' Nobili explains the ingenious tactics he employed to lead them to the Catholic faith. "Apart from my kind of life," he says, "another circumstance greatly helped me to bring about conversions: the knowledge I had acquired of the most secret books of the religion of the country. I ascertained that the primitive religion had four laws or vedas. Three of these were the ones that the Brahmans taught. But, as all confessed, none of the three vedas is able to bring salvation. Salvation, I said, is in that fourth law, a purely spiritual law, which you acknowledge has been lost and cannot be recovered by human power. I have come from a distant country with the single aim of bringing you this law of the spirit, this fourth veda, which God gave to the world and which you are waiting for." "Thus I adapted my language to their ideas, following the example of the Apostle, who preached the unknown God to the Athenians." ²²

The success of this pious stratagem was prodigious. "The Lord brought into the fold so many new sheep," Nobili wrote to his provincial, "that soon my church will not be able to hold the neophytes." ²³ It is true that the missionary's austere life and his charity counted for much in these conversions. Father Anthony Vico wrote to Father Acquaviva, the Jesuit general, "I would call this man the type of ideal perfection of a missionary." ²⁴

However, Father de' Nobili's refusal to perform or even to

²² J. Bertrand, S.J., *La Mission du Maduré, documents inédits* (1847-50), I, 21.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, 73.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

sanction certain pagan rites aroused some Brahmans against him. Some Christians, scandalized by his attitude, cited him before the tribunal of the archbishop of Goa in 1618. The affair was brought to Rome. Cardinal Bellarmine himself was for a while disturbed by the reports he heard about the apostolate of his nephew. But the latter explained his conduct; and the Cardinal's anxiety vanished. Pope Gregory XV, by a bull of January 31, 1623, explicitly approved the method followed by Nobili. That decision remained the charter of the mission for more than a century.²⁵ In 1639 Nobili supplemented his system by instituting two classes of missionaries: those (Brahman-Saniassi) who, like him, subjected themselves to the full etiquette of the Brahmans; the others (pandara-swamis) who could visit all classes. When Father Robert de' Nobili died in 1656, the Madura mission counted a hundred thousand Christians.

Zealous missionaries continued his work. The greatest of all was the martyr John de Britto. The son of the viceroy of Brazil, brought up at court as companion of the princes, John de Britto was favored at the age of fourteen by a grace of healing through the intercession of St. Francis Xavier. He promised to follow in the footsteps of his powerful protector. After his arrival in India (1665), nine years after Nobili's death, he baptized within less than five years six thousand pagans. As superior of the mission, he renewed it by his zealous energy. He refuted the Brahmans with their own books and reserved for himself the most abandoned and the poorest of the Christian centers to evangelize them. John de Britto used to say: "I did not know true nobility until I became the companion of the friends of Christ." God blessed his preaching by miracles. From an eyewitness we have the following testimony: "I have had the joy of observing that some of the prodigies which contributed to the conversion of pagans in the days of the primi-

²⁵ The Malabar rites were later forbidden, as also the Chinese rites.

tive Church were daily renewed in the Church that we have founded." The fame of such an apostolate aroused the wrath of the pagans. Like St. Paul, De Britto endured flogging, prison, hunger, thirst, wandered about without finding a refuge, appeared before the tribunals and there professed the faith of Christ. One day he was exposed on a rock to the burning rays of the Indian sun; another day he was beaten with rods until his flesh was in pieces. A price was put on his head. Arrested and judged at Ramnad, he was brought to Oréiour and there (February 4, 1693) he was beheaded. The witnesses who deposed at the process of beatification, related that he advanced to the place of execution like a conqueror marching in triumphal procession. After St. Francis Xavier, Blessed John de Britto ²⁶ must be considered the principal patron of the Indian mission.

The Missions in Japan

As in the Indies, in Japan the memory of St. Francis Xavier remained a program of action, a stimulant of zeal, and gauge of success. For almost half a century the Jesuits were the only ones who had the privilege of continuing in Japan the work of their glorious Father Francis.²⁷ The Japanese people responded generously to these efforts: the fervor of the first Christian communities seemed to revive in these young Christian centers, and the courage of the first witnesses of the gospel was found again in the intrepidity of its martyrs. "Whole families received baptism on the same day and, under the breath of grace, the new converts became apostles. Then began to flourish the Christian centers of Hirado, Omura, and Nagasaki, which, by the fervor of their neophytes, the austerities of their penitents, and the purity of their virgins recalled the most beautiful days

²⁶ The solemnity of his beatification took place August 21, 1853.

²⁷ In 1593 the Franciscans joined hands with the Jesuits and were their emulators in the apostolate of Japan.

of the primitive Church. Fifteen bonzes of great renown were converted in 1560. Two years later the daimio of Omura was baptized along with thirty of his samurai. Soon afterward it was the daimio of Amakusa and that of the Goto Islands; then one of the greatest warriors of the time, Takayma, and his son, Prince Justo.

In the midst of a feudal society, such personages could not enrol under the banner of Christ without bringing in their suite a throng of their subordinates. But what contributed still more to the rapid spread of Christianity was the favor accorded to the missionaries by a man famous in the history of those times, an outspoken enemy of the bonzes and a real sovereign of Japan since 1565. He was called Nobunaga. Haughty and magnanimous, serious and dissolute, but above all ambitious, Nobunaga showed genius. He it was who, to save his country from anarchy, conceived the plan of concentrating in the hands of a single master a power that the daimios disputed at the point of the sword to the great harm of the nation. Though Nobunaga, on account of his passions, was far from embracing Christianity, he often declared his admiration for it and showed himself favorable to those who taught it. Under his government the Catholic Church counted in Japan as many as 200,000 members and 250 churches; three daimios sent an embassy to the Supreme Pontiff.²⁸

Intoxicated by his triumph, Nobunaga had erected a temple where he himself was to be adored. But his life was cut short by death in 1582. His successor was the first persecutor of the Christians. His name was Hideyoshi. From the post of a simple servant of an officer, he rose through his talent and his work, to the grade of generalissimo. He was a small man, but a powerful one, whose very bearing and countenance were frightful.²⁹ Dominated by a mighty ambition, he could not

²⁸ Marnas, *op. cit.*, I, 16-19.

²⁹ Charlevoix, *Histoire du Japon*, Bk. VI, chap. 11.

tolerate near him any rival power. In 1587 the bonzes succeeded in persuading him that the missionaries were spies and instruments of conquest in the service of Spain. Thereafter he hesitated at no measure of violence. He swore to abolish the religion of Christ in all his states. A decree of banishment was issued against the European priests, who must leave Japanese territory within twenty days, and orders were given to tear down everywhere the churches and the crosses.

Under these circumstances, the conduct of the Jesuits was a wonder of prudence and tactical adroitness. One of their greatest men had just arrived in Japan. This was Father Alexander Valignano, born at Chieti in the Abruzzi (February, 1539). "The nobility of his family and the brilliant qualities of his mind, enhanced by a noble countenance, promised a great future for him. He offered to God the sacrifice of all his worldly hopes, and took the habit of the Company of Jesus at Rome on May 27, 1566. After a few years he was regarded as fit to train others in the religious life. To him was entrusted the training of the novices then resident in the Roman College. Among these was Matteo Ricci, the future great missionary of China."⁸⁰ Owing to the firm diplomacy of Father Valignano, the Jesuits were able to remain in Japan for ten years notwithstanding the decrees, and that without any shedding of blood. Not one of them left the country. They withdrew to the homes of the Christian princes and to the daimios who were favorable to them, and from there they parleyed with the imperial government. Valignano, accredited as ambassador of the viceroy of the Indies, presented himself in person to the sovereign, loaded with presents, and respectfully discussed his forebodings, and courageously proposed to the ruler that ten Jesuits be kept as hostages. Hideyoshi was disturbed by this offer. At that very time his armies were victorious in Corea, thanks to the brilliant deeds of arms of a Christian prince, General Yukinaga.

⁸⁰ J. Brucker, in *Etudes*, July 20, 1910, p. 193.

He was calmed little by little. Christianity continued to progress. The number of Christians soon rose to 300,000 under the direction of 134 religious.³¹

Things stood thus when (July, 1596) a Spanish galleon, the St. Philip, going from Manila to New Spain, was cast by a storm on the shores of Tosa and, according to Japanese custom, was confiscated to the profit of the emperor. In the hope of saving his rich cargo, the pilot tried to intimidate the government of Hideyoshi. In an interview with one of the ruler's officers, he showed him on a map of the world the many regions subject to the king of Spain, in Africa, in Asia, and in America, in fine, that whole empire on which the sun never set. The surprised officer asked: "How was such a vast monarchy established?" "By religion and by arms," replied the imprudent Spaniard. "Our priests prepare the way. They convert the populations to Christianity. After that it is merely a game for us to subject them to our authority." This declaration was at once reported to Hideyoshi. Nothing more was needed to revive his anger. "The traitors," he cried. "They will learn what it is to play with me."³² On his order at once a list was drawn up of all the Japanese who were in relation with the missionaries. The most pitiful episode of this persecution was the crucifixion of twenty-six Christians, priests and laymen, in the city of Nagasaki. They endured martyrdom with admirable courage. Among them were many children. According to the report of eyewitnesses, "the blood that flowed on their cheeks moved the pity of the hardest hearts."³³ The emotion was increased when they heard one of the martyrs, a little Mass server, intone the *Laudate pueri Dominum*, then the invincible Paul Miki, a Japanese cleric of the Society of Jesus, preach the gospel from his cross until he drew his last breath.

Hideyoshi's rigors were merely the prelude of a more gen-

³¹ Marnas, *op. cit.*, I, 25.

³² Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, Bk. X, chap. 4.

³³ *Ibid.*, chap. 10.

eral and terrible persecution, which broke out in 1614. Some Dutch and English merchants had formed a plan to seize the commerce of Japan. In the words of a Protestant historian, "These Calvinists and these Anglicans showed no scruple in stirring up the shogun to drown the Japanese Church in blood. They succeeded only too well." ³⁴ The shogun Ieyasu ordered the banishment of all the missionaries, the demolition of all the churches, the apostasy of all the Christians under pain of death. "The number of victims was much greater than that of the persecutions against the Christians of the Roman Empire: it rose to 30,000 in the single year 1624, and the atrocity of the sufferings surpassed all that Eusebius relates about the martyrdoms of the Christians of Egypt under Maximin and Decius." ³⁵ In 1640 the following announcement was made known to the public: "So long as the sun warms the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan! Let all know, even the king of Spain in person, or the God of the Christians, or the great Buddha himself, whoever violates this prohibition will pay for it with his head." ³⁶ Crosses were engraved or painted on the wharves of all the ports so that no Christian could pass without trampling on that sacred sign; in the eyes of the Japanese, such an act was equivalent to apostasy. The head of every foreign missionary, daring enough to enter the empire, had a price put on it. Even the natives could not, under pain of death, leave their country or return to it if they had gone out. The effect of these measures was to close Japan to Europe for more than two centuries.

The Missions in China

Mysterious China, with its immense material resources, and also intellectual and moral powers in reserve, was the last aim

³⁴ Bœhmer, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Marnas, *op. cit.*, I, 44.

of St. Francis Xavier's apostolate. His brethren in religion were faithful to the honor of realizing his last desire.

China at that time had almost reached the height of the period of its history which is characterized by the rule of the literati.³⁷ Just as India could not be reached profoundly without first winning the Brahmans and as no lasting work could be accomplished in Japan without making sure of the support of the feudal lords, evidently the preparatory work in China was to overcome the directing class of the literati. This was understood by the disciples of St. Francis Xavier and particularly by the worthy follower of Robert de' Nobili and of Alexander Valignano, Matteo Ricci.

Matteo Ricci (1552-1610)

The missionary to whom Providence reserved the conquest so greatly desired by Francis Xavier came into this world at the very time when Francis was making his last effort to gain entrance into China. Born on October 6, 1552, of a noble family at Macerata in the Papal States, Matteo Ricci studied law at Rome for two years. On August 15, 1571, he interrupted his studies to enter the novitiate of the Society of Jesus, where Father Valignano, his "Father Master," inspired him with the apostolic zeal with which he himself was inflamed. The young man's special aptitudes for the exact sciences induced his superiors to direct him to the study of mathematics, cosmography, and astronomy, along with philosophy and theology. But Matteo Ricci's success in these different sciences did not turn his thoughts from the preoccupation that he cherished since the time of his novitiate. After the conclusion of his studies, he

³⁷ "The period extends from 1280 to 1905. It is marked by the decline of Buddhism and Taoism. The offices and the examinations that gave access to them had passed into the hands of the literati, who thus became the dominant power" (Léon Wieger, *loc. cit.*). This period came to an end by the decree of September 2, 1905, which abolished the former literary examinations.

begged and obtained the favor of being sent to the missions of India. He did not stay there long. Presently, in company with Father Ruggieri, he was drawn to the mission of China, where his scientific knowledge would prove to be of the greatest usefulness.

The two religious humbly asked the maritime prefect of Canton for permission to settle at Chao-king. According to the words of their petition, "they were religious men who had left their own country upon the good renown of the good government of China, to come there with a view to remaining and dying there. They requested only a corner of earth, where, with the help of alms, they would build a little church, without causing inconvenience to anyone, and would live on the alms already received."³⁸ Soon the scientific knowledge of the two peaceful strangers made them celebrated among the literati. Father Ricci translated into Chinese the Elements of Euclid, made some sun dials and some terrestrial and celestial globes, which attracted the good will of the mandarins. Ricci's aim was to present himself at court and to settle at Peking. He was persuaded rightly that, if he should succeed in having himself accepted in the capital and in there establishing a residence, missionaries would have no difficulty in penetrating the whole Empire.

About the beginning of 1599 Matteo Ricci, accompanied by Michael Ruggieri and, like his companion, dressed in the silk costume of the mandarins, made his entrance into Peking, where finally, after a few difficulties, he was able to settle definitely on January 24, 1601. The emperor, Wan-li, charmed by the world maps, allowed him to reside in the capital, wherever he wished. Christianity then began to have legal authorization. The missionaries profited by this to explain more freely to the

³⁸ Ricci, *Dell' intrata della Compagnia di Gesù e christianita in Cina*, Bk. I, chap. 2. Father Trigant has translated into Latin these memoirs of Father Ricci under the title *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinos* (1615).

literati who came to consult them, the chief mysteries of the faith. Conversions increased. In 1605 the mission counted more than two hundred neophytes, several of them being personages of note. Such was that doctor Li, who composed seven volumes on mathematics, translated the works of Aristotle, and left more than twenty works in manuscript on various subjects of philosophy.

Some writers have criticized and even distorted the apostolic method of the famous Jesuit. That method, so far as it is special, seems to have been inspired by a twofold preoccupation: to make Catholic doctrine accepted by Chinese thought and to preserve, in the national customs and rites, whatever did not appear incompatible with the faith and morals of the gospel. From these considerations came the rules of conduct that should be followed by the missionary: 1. first he published a treatise, *The true Idea of God* (Tien-chu-she-i), in which according to his own words, "he does not treat of all the truths of our holy faith, but only of some of the principal ones, . . . since his only purpose is to prepare the way";³⁹ 2. he declared open war on Buddhism and Taoism, but he did not attack Confucianism, and rather praised it;⁴⁰ he even attempted to make use of the national sage in his apologetics, in the same way that the apologists and the theologians of the first centuries supported their stand on Plato and Aristotle; 3. he accepted the idea that the converted Chinese might take part in the cult of the ancestors and even that the mandarins should do so to their spiritual ancestor, Confucius; he judged, in fact, that these rites were nothing more than a filial respect or the gratitude of disciples toward a master; 4. he called God *Tien-chu* (the Lord of heaven), because, in the Chinese language, he did not find any name that corresponded to the name of God, and because the name of God itself, *Dio*, could not very well be pro-

³⁹ Quoted by Brucker in *Etudes*, September 20, 1910, p. 771.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 769.

nounced in that language, which has not the sound "D," but he permitted the designation of God by the name *Chang-ti*, employed by Confucius and by the literati to designate the principle of the world.⁴¹

"In 1610 the strength of Father Ricci was exhausted, less through age than through the fatigues of an apostolate that filled all his days and a great part of his nights. After a short illness, he expired (May 11), kissing the crucifix and the image of St. Ignatius, whose worthy son he had been."

On his deathbed he designated as his successor Father Longobardi, who had been living in China since 1596 and who had a very different view of the "Chinese rites."⁴² He rigorously forbade Christians to practice them. Numerous and noteworthy conversions continued under this new regime.

Under the Tartar Manchu dynasty, which seized the throne in 1644 and which inaugurated the golden age of the literati,⁴³ two missionaries were especially conspicuous by the prestige of their scientific knowledge and the effectiveness of their apostolate in the upper classes of China: they were Father Schall and Father Verbiest.

Johann Adam Schall (1591-1669), a native of Cologne, acquired such a reputation by his Chinese writings on mathematics and astronomy that he was appointed president of the mathematical tribunal, or bureau of astronomical observations of Peking. Emperor Shun-chi bestowed on him precious marks of esteem, raised him and his ancestors to the rank of nobility according to Chinese custom, and granted him a piece of land on which Father Schall in 1650 laid the foundations of a great Catholic church. But in 1664 a Mohammedan astronomer,

⁴¹ Ricci endeavored to prove that this name, in the texts of Confucius and his first disciples, designates the true God who is adored in Europe. In this he was not in accord with the common explanation of the modern Chinese literati. But several of the best European Sinologists agree with Father Ricci.

⁴² He also forbade the use of the name *Chang-ti* to designate God. See Longobardi, *Traité sur quelques points de la religion des Chinois*.

⁴³ Wieger, *loc. cit.*

Yang Kweisien, removed from the direction of the observatory, presented against the missionaries charges of conspiracy against the state. These charges led to a persecution. Father Schall, after being arrested and sentenced to be cut into ten thousand pieces, was released, following an earthquake which terrified the population. He died on August 15, 1666, at the age of seventy-five.

Father Verbiest, a Belgian by birth, succeeded him. Well versed in astronomy, he showed the inexactness of the calendar prepared by Yang Kweisien and corrected it. He constructed new instruments for the observatory and, upon the Emperor's orders, even cast some brass cannons. He died on January 9, 1688. The Emperor decreed that the tribunal of mathematics should be permanently placed under the direction of the Jesuits.

The Chinese Rites

Meanwhile members of other religious orders and priests trained in the new Paris Seminary of Foreign Missions had arrived in China. Many of these observed with astonishment and scandal that the Chinese converts were offering sacrifices to their ancestors and to Confucius. Opinion was divided. The Jesuits generally clung to the method of Father Ricci; but most of the missionaries of the other congregations took Father Longobardi's view. Then began those long and painful discussions on the Chinese rites, discussions that would be so injurious to the future of Catholicism in the Celestial Empire.

In 1643 Father Morales, a Dominican, submitted to the Holy See a series of questions or doubts, which were answered in a decree of Propaganda, approved by Pope Innocent X and dated September 12, 1645. The Chinese rites as set forth by Father Morales were therein condemned and forbidden. The Jesuits asked for a chance to explain their view. The result was a decree of the Holy Office (March 23, 1656), approved by Pope

Alexander VII, which "allowed to the Chinese the said ceremonies, with all superstitions removed, because it seemed that they constituted a rite purely civil and political." These first two replies by ecclesiastical authority, in which each of the two parties claimed to find justification for its method, were supplemented by a third decree (November 20, 1669), approved by Clement IX, which declared that "each of the two former decrees must be observed, according to the questions, the circumstances, and whatever was contained in the doubts proposed."

Light and peace did not yet come. The persecution that broke out in 1665 seemed to produce agreement on the problem. Jesuits and Dominicans, thrown into the same prison, thought they could not better employ their forced leisure than in agreeing on a uniform method of apostolate. Forty-two articles were drawn up in 1668 and placed under the protection of St. Joseph, the patron of the Chinese missions. But as soon as the missionaries were freed from prison, both parties resumed their former positions. The strife was the more bitter as these confessors of the faith introduced into it the whole ardor of their zeal.

To put an end to the dispute the peremptory decision of Clement XI was needed. On November 20, 1704, he forbade all offerings and ceremonies, whether solemn or less solemn, made in the temples or halls of Confucius and of the ancestors, and banned the use of the words *Tien* and *Chang-ti* to designate God. But when the papal legate, Charles Maillard de Tournon, presented himself (December 31, 1705) before Emperor Kang-ti to convey the papal decision, the sovereign at once ordered him to leave Peking, then had him arrested and imprisoned at Canton. This unfortunate effect of the papal decree must be attributed especially to the lack of tact by the legate charged with giving notice of the decree and having it carried out.

Many recent Sinologists recognize that the basis of the do-

mestic Chinese ceremonies is religious, almost identical with that worship of the penates and lares, that was the foundation of the Roman religion.⁴⁴ Even had these rites been merely suspect, the Church had the right to forbid them to converts in order to remove any equivocal practice. Three successive decrees, in prudently restrained words, had not brought a clear light. The importance of the question, the sharpness of the quarrel, the insistence of the adversaries, obliged the papacy to issue a categorical decision; this it could do only in the sense of absolute truth. Later (1742) Benedict XIV renewed, by his bull *Ex quo singulari*, the prohibitions of his predecessors in the strictest sense and added the severest sanctions. Today every missionary arriving in China must swear in the hands of his bishop and must send a copy of his oath to Rome, to attest before God that he admits the said bull in its entirety and accepts all its consequences.

The Missions in South America

Since the discoveries of Christopher Columbus, America offered a new field for the zeal of missionaries. From the religious viewpoint two great regions were marked out: the region of the Center and the South, which, colonized by the Spanish and the Portuguese, became almost entirely Catholic and received, in ecclesiastical language, the name of Latin America; and the region of the North, which, entered by the Protestants, principally by the Episcopalians of England, the Puritans of Scotland, the Reformed of Holland, and the Huguenots of France, soon became the country of cosmopolitan Protestantism.

The arbitral decision of Alexander VI, who in 1493, by his bull *Inter caetera*, designated the famous line of demarcation between the Spanish influence and the Portuguese influence,

⁴⁴ This is the view held by Fernand Farjenel in his *Le peuple Chinois*. Cf. Cordier, *Histoire des relations de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales*, III, chap. 25.

clearly drew attention to the idea that should inspire the two nations: the conversion of the infidels to the faith of Christ. If the governments often changed this thought by calculations too human, holy missionaries devoted themselves to it with generosity. Bartholomew de Las Casas in San Domingo and Mexico, St. Turibius and St. Rose in Peru, Blessed Anchieta and the eloquent Vieira in Brazil, and the Jesuits who evangelized and organized Paraguay, were the admirable founders of the Churches of Latin America.

The island which the ships of Columbus saw rising (December 6, 1492) like an emerald on the blue sea and which the great navigator wished to name Hispaniola, was called by its Indian name, Haiti. Today it is better known by the name of San Domingo. After Haiti, the cross of Christ was planted on the shores of Puerto Rico, Cuba, Jamaica, the Greater and the Lesser Antilles. In 1517 Fernando Cortez landed in Mexico. The preaching of the faith kept step with the conquest. In 1512 San Domingo and Puerto Rico received from Pope Julius II their first bishops; ten years later Cuba received its bishop from Adrian VI; and in 1527 Clement VII sent to Mexico its first prelate. Under Paul III the sees of Guatemala, Lima, and Quito were created. By the middle of the sixteenth century the new continent, as well as the islands, had an ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Bartholomew de Las Casas (1474-1566)

But we must not fall into a delusion. The Christian spirit did not yet triumph in these countries. The conquerors were unfortunately the first to scandalize these new peoples by their excesses of all kinds. The very wealth of the discovered countries and the natural mildness of the conquered populations were for the Spaniards and the Portuguese an occasion of licentiousness and unheard-of cruelties. To populate Haiti,

they depopulated the other Antilles,⁴⁵ they pitilessly removed from the islands of St. John and Jamaica almost 600,000 Indians, they hindered the instruction of the natives through fear lest they might not so easily exploit them,⁴⁶ almost everywhere they abused the natives' simplicity, ignorance, and weakness.⁴⁷

A holy priest rose up against these hateful practices with courageous indignation. His name was Bartholomew de Las Casas. He was sprung from a French family of which one member, who came into Spain under the reign of Ferdinand III, was distinguished at the siege of Seville and there acquired the title of nobility for himself and his descendants. The account of the inhuman treatment which the Spaniards were inflicting on the Indians deeply afflicted the generous soul of Las Casas. In 1498 he returned the Indian whom his father, a companion of Columbus, had sent to him from America for his service.⁴⁸

Ordained priest in 1510, he asked permission to exercise his ministry in the Antilles, with the declared purpose of becoming the protector of the savages. What he saw with his own eyes increased his zeal. As a true priest he devoted himself to the supernatural good of souls. But his apostolic method was based on the principle that, to labor for the salvation of the Indians, he must begin by laboring for their freedom. Thenceforth not a single atrocity committed by the *conquistadores* in San Domingo, Mexico, or Peru came to his ears without the guilty person hearing his energetic protest. Twelve times he crossed the ocean to obtain from Ferdinand, from Charles V, and from Philip II precise instructions or to promote their execution.

In 1515 the great Cardinal Ximenez, regent of Castile, un-

⁴⁵ Charlevoix, *Hist. de saint Domingue*, pp. 316, 318.

⁴⁶ Touron, *Histoire générale de l'Amérique*, pp. 261, 313.

⁴⁷ Las Casas, *Brevissima relacion de la destruccion de las Indias occidentales per los Castellanos*, chap. 30.

⁴⁸ It is not true that in 1493, at the age of nineteen, he took part in Columbus' expedition. See Hefele, *Life of Cardinal Ximenes*, p. 496.

derstanding the significance of his work, named him protector of all the Indians, and, to aid him in his mission, appointed a commission made up of priests, laymen, and a lawyer who was to be a sort of magistrate. In 1520 Emperor Charles V granted him by royal patent a domain in the province of Cumana and authorized him to introduce there a colony of laborers, workmen, and priests. In 1544 he was raised to the dignity of bishop of Chiapa. But these powers and dignities, though extending the scope of his activity, became for the ardent apostle the occasion of hard trials. By a blameworthy condescension, the commission appointed to assist him, allowed the establishment of the sale of Indians as slaves, and the governor of Puerto Rico directed an expedition against Cumana to enslave the colony that Las Casas established there with such care.

Weighed down by so many misfortunes, the virtuous priest, in 1522, took the habit of a Dominican at San Domingo. His fervor increased daily. He spent his nights in prayer and, with the coming of day, went into the forests and into the caves to look for the savages being hunted by the Spaniards and taught them Christianity. He was then accused of being a fomenter of disturbance and seditions. To justify himself he had to go to Spain in 1542. Before an assembly of theologians and magistrates, gathered at Valladolid, he defended himself and courageously attacked the barbarism of the Spanish governors and their subordinates. At the age of ninety years he still found enough strength to write a book defending the cause of the Indians and of liberty. If the efforts of Bartholomew de Las Casas were not always crowned with immediate success, he left the example of a hero of Christian charity.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ The most exact study on Las Casas is that found in Hefele's *Life of Cardinal Ximenes*. We ought to point out, in the life of Las Casas, a grave mistake. So greatly was he preoccupied by his love for the Indians that, for purposes of the forced labor, he considered replacing them by the Negroes, who were introduced into America. This was the beginning of the Negro slave trade. Cf. Hefele, *op. cit.*, pp. 503 f.

Peru

By the lure of its gold and silver mines, Peru attracted a large number of Spanish adventurers, more concerned with enriching themselves and, once enriched, with giving themselves up to every vice, than with civilizing the native population. But Providence, as a remedy for such abuses, had prepared a man who has been called the St. Charles Borromeo of Peru, St. Turibius (1538-1606). He was the son of a gentleman of Mogrobejo in Spain and in 1580 he was holding the office of president or chief magistrate of Granada, when Philip II, wishing to fill the place of the archbishop of Lima, thought of him. No choice could have been better than that of this noble layman, energetic and good, experienced in the direction of civil affairs, and versed in the lofty ways of the Christian life. All the necessary dispensations were accorded by the Supreme Pontiff. Turibius received all the holy orders in the space of a few weeks and arrived in Peru in the course of the year 1581.

During the twenty-five years of his episcopate, St. Turibius, like the illustrious Archbishop of Milan, founded schools, hospitals, and seminaries, held synods, trained missionaries destined for the evangelization of his vast diocese, journeyed through it himself several times. He showed himself kind for the oppressed, but severe for the public sinners and for unworthy priests. Pope Benedict XIII canonized him in 1726. His apostolate was seconded by the admirable examples of holiness which, in the very city of Lima, gave two holy souls: St. Francis Solanus, a Friar Minor, who strove to walk in the footsteps of St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Rose, a Dominican tertiary, who took for her model St. Catherine of Siena. A strong love for God characterized these two souls. Brother Francis considered all the brightness of nature a symbol of charity. Of a calmer disposition, Rose, under the weight of trials, said to God: "Lord, increase my suffering if at the same time Thou wilt in-

crease my love." St. Francis Solanus died in 1610, with the words: "God be praised." St. Rose of Lima left this world seven years later, exclaiming: "I am going to behold the face of my God."

Brazil

In the missions of South America we have thus far met only the old orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis. In fact, the new Society of Jesus was to be found mingled with Dominicans and Franciscans in Mexico and Peru. But its activity was especially dominant in Brazil and Paraguay. There we must examine the results of its new methods and of its genius of organization.

Someone has said that the Jesuits made the Brazilian nation. This honor may be claimed particularly in favor of Joseph Anchieta, the wonder-working poet, and of Anthony Vieira, the mighty orator.

Born at Teneriffe, Joseph Anchieta (1533-97) was descended from an ancient family of Biscay related to the Loyolas. He obtained his education in the island where he was born, then in the celebrated University of Coimbra, where he derived that taste for beautiful Latinity which never left him, even amid the most savage peoples. His biographers depict him, at the age of twenty, as a mild, meditative young man, with a delicate complexion, of great intelligence, with ardent feelings that were expressed in vivacious eyes.

He early joined the Society of Jesus and, in 1553, his superiors sent him to the vast solitudes of Brazil, whose geographical extent was unknown and whose peoples were almost unknown. Joseph Anchieta had a poetic imagination as well as the soul of a missionary. When the missionary used to return home, worn out by the hard labors in which he had to meet the opposition of men and that of the elements, the poet sang, in the language of Virgil, of the splendors of nature and of the

supernatural beauty of heaven. Soon, when he had a deep grasp of the language of the country, in the dialect of his young Christian peoples he composed poems, songs, canticles, and moral dialogues, which were repeated by the children, the young women, and the men. In consequence of continual aggressions of a savage tribe against his Christian center and probably also because of the precarious state of his health, he had to retire to a safer and healthful spot, where he composed his great Latin poem on the Blessed Virgin. The missionary himself tells us that he wrote it on the shore, facing the immensity of the ocean. The waves sometimes blotted out his writings; but the poet's memory retained the fruits of his inspiration. Thus were kept from oblivion the 4,500 verses making up Anchieta's poem.

In 1576 he was appointed rector of the College of St. Vincent; then, in 1578, provincial of his Order in Brazil. The cares of his office did not prevent the zealous missionary from engaging in the personal work of the apostolate among the Indians. We see him choosing by preference the most savage tribes. He buried himself in the forests that were reputed the most dreadful, and his gentleness had such a charm that the most heartless men respected him. At the age of fifty-two the exhaustion of his health obliged him to be relieved of his duties as provincial. He retired to Rio di Janeiro, then to a secluded country place where he spent much time rereading the Fathers of the Church, specially St. Basil and St. Augustine, with delight. He completed several of his works, among them a grammar and a dictionary of the Brazilian language. There he peacefully expired on June 9, 1595.

We are told that the catechumens wished to carry his venerated body to Espirito Santo, which is fifteen leagues distant. Three hundred Indians formed his funeral cortege. Father Anchieta for a long time had a reputation for holiness which God seemed to will to confirm by numerous miracles. In view of the popular milieu from which most of the accounts of these mar-

vels have come to us, we cannot today determine the exact portion of historical truth in the events related. The bringing back to life of dead persons, graces of bilocation, extraordinary power over wild animals and over lifeless matter: no supernatural gift seems to have been refused the Blessed Joseph Anchieta. Says Kelker: "It would be reckless to reject all these accounts without exception and without examination; such a prejudgment would offend against true science no less than against the true faith."⁵⁰

Half a century after Anchieta's death, Brazil saw the arrival of another son of St. Ignatius. By different means, he would consolidate the work of his predecessors. This man was the illustrious Anthony Vieira, whom Portugal counts among its greatest protectors, whom history considers one of the ablest diplomats, and whom religious history must regard as one of the mightiest orators that has ever appeared in the Christian pulpit. He was born at Lisbon in 1608, but grew up in Brazil, where his father had brought him in his early years. Antonio Vieira early consecrated himself to the service of God in the Society of Jesus, with the determined resolve to devote his life to the conversion of the infidels. But the viceroy's confidence in him called him to Portugal, where King John IV admitted him to court, appointed him his ordinary preacher, and employed him as ambassador in various negotiations in England, Holland, France, and at Rome. "The memoirs that he composed at this time show that he had broad and lofty views which perhaps would have restored Portugal's glorious days if they had been followed."⁵¹ After 1652 he devoted himself more particularly to the Indian missions in Brazil. He succeeded in evangelizing and organizing fifty Indian villages along the north shore of the Amazon for a distance of 400 leagues.

⁵⁰ Kerker, art. "Anchieta" in Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*. The Bollandists (*Acta sanctorum*, June 9) give a short account of Joseph Anchieta.

⁵¹ Denis, art. "Vieira" in *Nouvelle biographie générale*.

The great foes of Vieira, in this work of civilization, were the colonists, who maintained that they were hindered in their slave trade.

The eloquence of the Jesuit produced such an impression that in 1653 the people of St. Louis and of Belem unanimously declared themselves in favor of the suppression of man-hunting. . . . Thereafter the courageous Jesuit could successfully undertake the spiritual conquest of the countries of the Tapuyans and the Caribs. Wherever the blackrobes appeared, the Indians by the thousand exchanged their freedom for the gentle sovereignty of the fathers and established themselves in villages under the fathers' direction. Even the dread cannibals of Ceará and of Piauhý began to join owing to the gentle exhortations of Vieira. Attacks by the forest Indians ceased; the frontier territory of the colony was opened to colonization.⁵²

On August 15, 1658, Vieira was able to celebrate a Mass of thanksgiving for the treaty which he had concluded with the chiefs and representatives of more than 100,000 natives.⁵³

The zealous missionary was equally determined to defend his Christians against the dangers of Protestant heresy. During the siege of Bahia by the Dutch, he was unsparing in his tireless preaching to raise the people's courage, to arouse them to prayer and penance so as to obtain their safety from God. But the siege kept on. Vieira, in a remarkable movement of faith and eloquence, suddenly declared that he intended now to turn only to God. We ought to quote in full that incomparable address in which the orator, like another Jacob, wrestled in combat with the Almighty, subdued the Eternal, and tried by force of eloquence, piety, and love, to wring the thunderbolts from Him.

Lord, nothing is hidden from Thy infinite knowledge. Thou seest what is, what was, what will be, and what can be. Lord, behold what

⁵² Böhmer, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁵³ Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, V, 114.

would happen if Bahia were to fall into the hands of the Dutch. . . . Hear the groans of the aged, of the women, of the children. . . . The heretic is forcing the door of this church, he is snatching from the altar that pyx where our eyes loved to contemplate Thee, where our hearts loved to adore Thee. . . . Thy altars are overturned, and the statues of Thy saints are broken. Sacrilegious hands reach out even to Thy Mother. . . . The grass is growing on the floor of Thy churches. Christmas comes, Lent, Easter. No one meditates any longer on Thy birth and Thy Resurrection. If anyone should ask the little children of that time, the children of those who are listening to me at this moment: "Little ones, to what religion do you belong?" they would answer: "To the religion of Calvin." Lord, Thou didst not come here for this. Not for heresy didst Thou have the faith preached to these souls.⁵⁴

Neither Father Vieira's eloquence nor his virtues kept him from being the object of various attacks and calumnies. The colonists' hatred did not pardon him for snatching the Indians from slavery. He was arrested, put on a ship, transported as a criminal to Lisbon. A book he had written, setting forth his projects and hopes, was the pretext for bringing him before the tribunal of the Inquisition, which condemned him, had him imprisoned, and at length released him without requiring any retraction from him. After various journeys to Rome, where he received favors from the Pope, Vieira returned to Brazil as head of the mission of Amazons and visitor general of the whole country. He died (July 18, 1697) at the age of eighty-nine. Thanks to his efforts and those of all his brethren, an immense extent of country, formerly inhabited by cannibals, was civilized. "A frightful undertaking," says Boehmer, "in which nothing but the heroism and the complete abnegation of religious enthusiasm could succeed. The Jesuits were animated by this heroism. They had also the necessary enthusiasm and courage to solve the difficult question of the natives, which was indeed the vital question. They had settled the question in

⁵⁴ See *Etudes*, February 20, 1899, pp. 534-36.

a way that even today can furnish indications for colonizing states.”⁵⁵

The Jesuits in Paraguay

More powerful and original was their action in the famous reductions of Paraguay. Most of the eighteenth-century philosophers, pleased to see in this work an application of their humanitarian ideas, have spoken of it with admiration, even with enthusiasm. Says Voltaire: “The establishment of Christianity in Paraguay by the Spanish Jesuits alone seems in some respects the triumph of humanity.”⁵⁶ Buffon, Montesquieu, Abbé Raynal, and the Protestant Robertson speak in the same way. Others regard it as an anticipation of socialism and even of collectivism. The simple account of the facts will show that never did the Jesuits in Paraguay intend to apply any theory. They tried simply to adapt the means of evangelization and of civilization which they had at their disposal to the customs of the savage peoples to whom they turned, and the full independence granted them by the Spanish government enabled them to extend their methods fully. This is the whole explanation of their conduct. Moreover, in this work we shall find no outstanding personality. The Society, with its characteristic spirit of initiative and discipline, of able adaptation and strong organization, is what accomplished all. Perhaps nowhere else do we recognize more easily its energetic and supple hand.

In 1588 the first three Jesuits arrived at the city of Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, built by the Spaniards fifty years before. They were invited there by the bishop of Tucuman, Francisco Victoria, discouraged at the futile attempts previously made to convert the natives. These belonged almost all to the family of the Guaranis, whom ethnographers connect with the same race as the Caribs of the Antilles. Peaceful and even in-

⁵⁵ Behmer, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

⁵⁶ Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs*, chap. 144; in *Œuvres* (Beuchot ed.), XVII, 462.

dolent, they were often the victims of the neighboring tribes, who were cannibals, and of that hybrid population, composed of half-breeds, of fugitive Negroes, and of whites driven from the coasts because of their crimes, whom the Spaniards called *Mamelucos* (Mamelukes). The Spanish conquest had merely added to their wretchedness; their conquerors, in fact, seemed often not to be concerned about converting them, but only about exploiting them to their own advantage.

The Jesuits, instructed by their experience on their missions of Brazil and Peru, were soon convinced that no attempt could be effective unless they began by separating the cause of the gospel from that of the Spanish colonists. They approached the savages, even penetrating into the trackless forests, armed with nothing but their faith and their charity. When they won a few souls by gentle and peaceful words, they journeyed along the rivers with their neophytes, singing pious canticles which they accompanied on musical instruments. Important groups were converted. To consolidate these conversions, the fathers decided in 1609 to gather their neophytes in Christian villages, which are known as reductions.⁵⁷

The Spanish commanders at first viewed these autonomous organizations with an evil eye; but the fathers easily persuaded the King of Spain that the independence of their little Christian centers was less dangerous than the condition of perpetual revolt kept up by the former state of things. The Spanish government, after receiving an oath of fidelity to the crown, confirmed the independence of the reductions. In 1629 the missionaries of the single province of Guayra reckoned the population of their villages at 100,000 souls. The "Christian Republic of Paraguay" was founded.

Thus established under conditions determined by the necessity of the moment, this sort of state was gradually organized.

⁵⁷ The reductions were already in existence in different countries of Latin America, and this system had been practiced by the Dominicans and Franciscans.

Surrounded by numerous enemies, that is, the cannibal tribes encompassing them and the Spanish colonists who hoped to make it serve their interests, the best assurance of security they could find was an almost absolute barring of outsiders from its territory. The greater part of the agricultural developments were created by the work of all; the Guaranis, moreover, had the practice of living in common; these exploitations were, then, the property of the whole community, which assumed responsibility for aiding the subsistence of each of its members. "Labor according to capacity, and division according to needs," was the rule that was applied almost of itself. The people readily lent themselves to it; and the Jesuits, who practiced it in their Order, had the required experience to watch over its application.

In their European colleges they had already elaborated a system of pedagogy which aimed at prompting to labor by making it joyous and regulating it wisely. To these peoples who were of childlike nature, they adapted with discernment the usages of their colleges. Every morning a signal was given half an hour before rising. After hearing Mass, they sang some songs, went to work at the sound of the fife and drum, carrying in great pomp the image of some saint. At each place of work a festive tune was played, and the number of works and regulations was increased. As in the colleges, the people wore a sort of uniform. All were dressed in the same kind of cloth and ate the same kinds of food: equality was thus as absolute as can be imagined.

Each reduction had two schools and a hospital, placed under the direction of the pastor. "The pastors of the reductions are not, like their brethren of Europe, simply charged with celebrating the Divine Office, instructing the faithful, and administering the sacraments. To that heavy burden they add all the care of the temporalities; they are likewise the civil prefects of the villages, the administrators of the common property, and the

magistrates whose duty it is to administer justice among all the citizens.”⁵⁸

The material cares never made the fathers forget that the first purpose of their mission was the spiritual conquest⁵⁹ of souls. The church was, in a way, the center of all the luxury of this austere population. There they were pleased to gather the precious metals and the art objects. The general procession of the Blessed Sacrament in which the entire people took part, with its congregations of verses, its companies of militia, its choral and musical societies, which followed one another along richly decorated streets, amid salvos of artillery and fireworks constituted the great feast of the nation. The greater part of the ground not occupied by individuals and called the domain of God, the *tupambac*, was cultivated by all the citizens one after the other; furthermore, it was not used solely for the needs of public worship, but also for the assistance of the poor, the sick, the widows, the orphans, those to whom the assigned ground did not yield a large enough return, and also for the general expenses of the Republic.

In its general lines, such was the organization of the Christian Republic of Paraguay. During more than a century of intense life, until the day when the Spanish government, yielding to selfish interests and taking umbrage at the so-called political power of the reductions, forced them to dissolve, by the disastrous treaty of 1750,⁶⁰ that organization gave, from the Christian viewpoint, the most wonderful results. A great number of travelers, who cannot be suspected of partiality, were pleased to acknowledge these results. Chiefly a religious work, the Christian Republic of Paraguay was not essentially dis-

⁵⁸ Rastoul, *Les Jésuites au Paraguay*, p. 24.

⁵⁹ The expressions “conquista espiritual” and “conquista de almas” were currently employed, not only in the letters of the fathers, but also in the official documents of the Spanish government to designate the chief aim of the mission.

⁶⁰ Rastoul, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

tinguished from so many other colonies founded by the Franciscans, the Dominicans, or the priests of the Paris Foreign Missions. The union of the powers of a spiritual order and of a temporal order in the hands of the chief of the mission, and the community organization of the property were facts that are met with at the beginning of almost all the works of civilization. The Jesuits of Paraguay carried them to a more perfect degree than anywhere else, and perhaps they brought to the undertaking, with the spirit particular to their Society, something more strict in discipline and at the same time more yielding in the use of the means of government: this was their only originality.⁶¹

The Missions in North America

The full success of the reductions of Paraguay encouraged the Jesuits to introduce their system of apostolate in North America. But there they met with greater difficulties. Besides the distrust of the native races and the hostility of the European colonists, they had to contend with the difficulties that arose from the Protestant heresy.

The story is told that when Columbus reached the Greater Antilles and hesitated to continue his route to the west, one of his companions, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, perceived in the late afternoon a flock of parrots flying toward the southwest. Supposing that these birds were going to pass the night on the coast, he urged the Admiral to follow that direction. Says Alexander von Humboldt, "If Columbus had resisted the counsel of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and continued to steer westward, he would have entered the Gulf Stream, and been borne to Florida, and from thence probably to Cape Hatteras and Virginia—a circumstance of incalculable importance, since it might have

⁶¹ See Charlevoix, *History of Paraguay*; Muratori, *A Relation of the Missions of Paraguay*; Bastoul, *Les Jésuites au Paraguay*.

been the means of giving to the United States of North America a Catholic Spanish population, in place of the Protestant English one by which those regions were subsequently colonized." ⁶²

When, in fact, the discoveries of Cabot, Cortereal, Balboa, De Soto, and Cartier completed the discoveries of Columbus and revealed North America to the Europeans, a current of emigration toward that country was established in England, in Holland, and in France. By its maritime and commercial power, England soon occupied a preponderant position in Virginia, Maryland, New Plymouth, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Haven. Except Virginia, the centers of colonization were not dependent directly on the royal power, and, as could be foreseen, some day they would proclaim their independence. But their attachment to Protestantism was deep; the Puritan spirit, in its rigidity and intolerance, dominated there. Would North America remain outside the Catholic influence? The missionaries did not let themselves be discouraged by the situation. Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Sulpicians, and priests of the Paris Foreign Missions vied with one another in zeal, fighting against the paganism of the natives and against the Protestantism of the colonists.

The Jesuits, by two different routes, were the first to launch the assault on the New Continent. In the west, by way of Mexico, already Christianized by them, they extended as far as California, where they resumed the work of the reductions and made, as it were, a second Paraguay. A Protestant writer, Simpson, says that the Jesuits in Lower California showed that nothing is impossible to energy and perseverance.⁶³ The sons of St. Francis continued the work of the Jesuits and deserve the same praise. Any unbiased student must admire what these

⁶² Humboldt, *Cosmos*, II, 262.

⁶³ Simpson, *Journey Round the World*, I, 186.

missioners accomplished in California. Theirs was a work of civilization through teaching and example.⁶⁴

By way of the Antilles and Florida, the fathers of the Society of Jesus advanced as far as Canada. There they won the admiration of the heretics themselves. "Before a Virginian had crossed the Blue Ridge, and while the Connecticut was still the extreme frontier of New England, more than one man whose youth had been passed among the warm valleys of Languedoc, had explored the wilds of Wisconsin, and caused the hymn of Catholic praise to rise from the prairies of Illinois. The Catholic priest went even before the soldier and the trader; from lake to lake, from river to river, the Jesuits pressed on unrelenting, and, with a power which no other Christians have exhibited, won to their faith the warlike Miamis and the luxurious Illinois." ⁶⁵

The most illustrious of them was the heroic Father Jogues. He returned to Quebec by way of Ottawa and the St. Lawrence in company with the warrior Ahositari and a band of Christian Hurons. Ahositari was the native chief who, after being baptized, enrolled a band of converts, savages like himself, traversed the region crying out: "Let us strive to make the whole world embrace the faith of Jesus." Suddenly a band of Mohawks poured on the little group. Ahositari was seized and was condemned to be burned alive. Fastened to a pole, he sang some hymns up to his last moment. A young novice, René Goupil, was slain with a stroke of a tomahawk, and Father Jogues, because of his infirmities, was told he might go about among the tribe. His martyrdom would be longer and more terrible. Throughout four years he experienced all kinds of torture. His hair was torn out, and his fingernails were ripped off to their base. They cut off his fingers, joint by joint. Some Dutchmen paid his ransom. Upon his return to Rome, he asked the

⁶⁴ Morrell, *A Narrative of Four Voyages*, p. 212.

⁶⁵ Quoted by Marshall, *Christian Missions*, II, 291.

Supreme Pontiff for a dispensation to celebrate Mass with his mutilated hands. The Pope gladly granted the request, saying to him: "It would not be just that a martyr of Jesus Christ should be deprived of the happiness of drinking the blood of Jesus Christ."⁶⁶ Jogues went back to America and there underwent torture once more, and was at length put to death by the Iroquois on October 18, 1646. We are told that his executioner, touched by grace at his last hour, died a Christian.

But at that time, in that vast territory which, under the name of New France, included all of Canada and part of the present United States, new workers came and added their efforts to those of the Jesuits: they were the priests of St. Sulpice.

In 1640 Jean Jacques Olier, who had never ceased thinking of the work of the missions and who at that time was particularly concerned with the conversion of the savages of New France, providentially met at Meudon, near Paris, an Angevin gentleman, Jerome de la Dauversière, who for some time before had entertained similar projects. By agreement on August 17, 1640, they established the basis of a society whose purpose would be the colonization of the island of Montreal in Canada.⁶⁷ A number of families of Lower Normandy and Upper Brittany were gathered together. A courageous young woman of Langres, Jeanne Manse, offered her services for the care of the sick. A devout Christian, experienced in arms, Paul de Chaumédy of Maisonneuve, eagerly agreed to take charge of the military conduct of the colony, which embarked in June, 1641, and about a year later landed on the island where Montreal would arise.

The beginnings were painful. To scarcity of food were added continual alarms. The Iroquois, the most cruel among the tribes

⁶⁶ *Indignum esset Christi martyrem non bibere Christi sanguinem.*

⁶⁷ For the principal provisions of this agreement, see Faillon, *Vie de M. Olier* (4th ed.), III, 400.

of New France, harassed the little colony. "They pressed us so hard," wrote Mlle Manse, "and their attacks were so frequent and so sudden that no security remained for anyone."⁶⁸ Many of the colonists were slain, many houses were burned. The hospital where Jeanne Manse exercised her devoted service escaped ruin thanks to a strong garrison established there to provide for its defense. In 1658 reinforcements were asked from France. A hundred strong men who had served in the royal army, were chosen by De Maisonneuve; they embarked joyfully to lend their help to the colony.

They were accompanied by a valiant young woman of Troyes, Margaret Bourgeoys, a worthy imitator of Jeanne Manse, whose name, blessed by Canadians, remained connected with most of the charitable foundations of the country. The settlement that one day would become the city of Montreal was then composed of fifty houses, scattered here and there, and a few cabins in the countryside beyond. Margaret Bourgeoys by herself each day visited these houses and cabins, instructing the children and the ignorant, taking care of the sick, mending the clothes of the poor, laying out the dead for burial. Soon she alone did not suffice for the task; but France sent her some helpers, with whom she founded the Congregation of Notre Dame.⁶⁹

In the hands of the Sulpicians, Montreal became, after Quebec, the most important parish of Canada. There they built the parish church and a seminary. On the principal part of the mountain they opened little schools for the Indian children; they taught religion to the Iroquois, the Hurons, and the Algonquins. This zeal was rewarded by martyrdom. Two Sulpicians, Vignal and Lemaitre, were slain: the first was wounded by a rifle shot, the second was beheaded after being mortally injured by shots of the savages. The apostolate of these priests was not limited to Montreal and its vicinity. We find them

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

⁶⁹ Faillon, *Vie de la Sœur Bourgeoys*.

among the Acadians, a population made up of fishermen, soldiers, and adventurers, and grouped in four chief centers: Port Royal, Beaubassin, Beauséjour, and Gaspereaux. At Port Royal, M. de Breslay, although pursued by the English, under threat of death, and obliged to stay in hiding, remained so long as his age and strength allowed him to be useful to his flock. Longfellow, in his *Evangeline*, pictures him as boundless in his charity and unshakable in his devotion.⁷⁰

The priests of the Paris Foreign Missions arrived in Canada in 1659 with Bishop Laval, who confided to them the Quebec seminary and the college of St. Joachim. Several of them turned their efforts to the missions among the Indians. Such were Father Thury, who preached between the St. George River and the Kenebec, Father Pelmenand, who entered Arcadia, and his colleague Father Gaulin, whose dauntless courage resisted the ceaseless vexations by the English. The Recollects, who in 1629 were expelled from Canada by England, came back in 1670.

At that date the work of a century and a half of the missions in North America seemed ruined forever. In spite of the heroic resistance of Montcalm at Quebec and of Vaudreuil at Montreal, Canada at length fell into the hands of the English, whose possession was confirmed by the Treaty of Paris (February 10, 1763). The closing of the novitiates of all the foreign communities and the prohibition against the religious of France coming to assist their brethren in Canada seemed to forecast the ruin of all the missions in a short time. The Paris Foreign Missions withdrew from America; the Sulpicians remained; but, by gradual decimation, their numbers were reduced until in 1793 they counted only two infirm old men. The mission of the Recollects did not survive the destruction of their church and of their hospice in 1796. As for the Society of Jesus, sup-

⁷⁰ C. de Rochemontrix, *Les missions catholiques*, VI, 33. Cf. *idem*, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII^e siècle*; Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française au Canada*; Longfellow, *Evangeline*, lines 460 ff.

pressed by Clement XIV (July 21, 1773), it had to turn over to the bishops its works and its property.

Thus ended the missions of New France under the ancient regime. They were revived in the nineteenth century.

The Missions in Africa

The great efforts attempted in the New World by the Catholic missionaries did not absorb the force of expansion of the Church. On the old soil of Africa the sons of St. Dominic and St. Francis, as also those of St. Ignatius and St. Vincent de Paul, accomplished prodigies. Central Africa was still impenetrable. But on the coasts, where Henry the Navigator had set up the cross, the apostles of the gospel were able to establish themselves. By the missions of Barbary in the north, of the Congo in the west, of Mozambique and Ethiopia in the east, the circle began to form, which would later enclose African paganism and Mohammedanism.

If, however, the provinces of North Africa have not yet been reconverted from the Mohammedan apostasy, it has not been for want either of apostles or martyrs. Thirty-nine houses of Trinitarians were founded in England in the twelfth century, whose members were bound by vow "to gather alms and carry them into Barbary for the redemption of slaves." In the single year 1261, more than two hundred Franciscans were martyred by the Mussulmans; and not long after, as if this were an incomplete sacrifice, one hundred and ninety Dominicans received from the same hands the baptism of blood. . . . In 1630, the Franciscan John de Prado, still honored as the patron of Tangier, sealed with his blood the new mission which he had founded. . . . Other religious societies had preceded it, and it was to the Fathers of the Order of Mercy that the captive Cervantes, while planning in his dungeon the liberation of twenty-five thousand Christian prisoners, owed his own redemption from the Moors. But of all the missionary communities which have chosen Africa for the field of their labors, none have surpassed the children of St. Vincent.⁷¹

⁷¹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, 550.

The charitable saint knew the difficulties standing in the way of the conversion of the Mussulmans. But he knew also, by experience, what solace could be brought to the Christian slaves and how, by the exercise of charity, some hope might be entertained of touching the heart of the most obstinate infidels. From the Barbary authorities Vincent obtained permission to send, with the French consul, a resident chaplain, then a second. The first died a victim of his devotedness during the plague; the second as a victim of his faith. Twenty-five prisons at Algiers, Tunis, and Bizerta became, by the savings of the poor captives, so many little parishes, where Mass was celebrated every day, High Mass on Sundays and feast days; jubilees and retreats brought back to God hardened sinners and apostates: the Mussulmans themselves were moved.

The Congo, peopled by men given to the practice of fetishism, was one of the first countries reached by the missionaries when the movement of apostolic expansion awoke in the Church in the fifteenth century. Dominicans, sent by King John II of Portugal, obtained complete success. In 1491 the chief of the country was converted, and his successors not only remained Christians but even became apostles, although with some serious defections. In 1645, at the request of the chief himself, the Holy See established a monastery of Capuchins and a prefect apostolic at Sogno, which became the center of the whole mission.⁷² In 1773 some French missionaries, arriving in the Kakongo on the other side of the river, estimated at several hundred thousand the Christian population they found there.⁷³ Unfortunately the bad example of the whites, the influence of the climate, and the political difficulties that desolated this region ruined this portion of the Church.

To the east, in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, the success of the missionaries was more dearly bought and was more

⁷² *Bullarium capuccinorum*, VII, 189.

⁷³ Proyart, *Histoire de Loango, Kacongo et autres royaumes d'Afrique*, p. 306.

precarious. There the missionaries were confronted with the Mussulman fanaticism, and Father Silveira of the Society of Jesus had been massacred by the followers of Islam. The mission was almost abandoned.

Abyssinia or Ethiopia, which received the faith of Christ as early as the year 330 by St. Frumentius, a disciple of St. Athanasius, seemed, in spite of its participation in the Euty-chian heresy, to give the Catholic Church most promising hopes. In the fifteenth century it courageously shook off the yoke of the Mussulmans and in the middle of the next century it favorably received the Portuguese soldiers who came to bring them aid in the defense of their independence, and missionaries who came to preach the faith to them. In 1589 success seemed to be final. Father Paez, the head of the Catholic mission, received the solemn abjuration of the king of Abyssinia, Socinios; thirty-five years later (December 11, 1624) the Church of Ethiopia abjured the errors of Eutyches. But upon the death of Socinios the people revolted, and the new king returned to the heresy. Since then it was only at the peril of their lives that a few missionaries, such as Father Brédevent, a Jesuit, were able to enter Abyssinia.

The large island of Madagascar gave the same hopes when, in 1648, in the suite of the French, the devoted sons of St. Vincent de Paul penetrated there. The soul of the great saint thrilled with joy.⁷⁴ Twenty-six years of labor and strife resulted, alas, only in the ruin of the colony. But the seed planted by the priests of St. Lazare would germinate for the future, and this mission of Madagascar was for the holy founder the occasion for him to develop in a memorable letter the principles of the evangelization of the infidels as his great soul understood them. He wrote:

⁷⁴ Letter of March 22, 1648, to Nacquart, in *Lettres de saint Vincent de Paul*, I, 230.

When you reach that island, after laboring to live among those whom you are to convert in the odor of holiness and good example, you must give those poor people, born in the darkness of ignorance, a grasp of the truths of our faith, not by the subtle arguments of theology, but by reasoning found in nature; for you must begin there, seeking to make them understand that you are merely developing in them the marks that God has left in them, and that the corruption of nature, long accustomed to evil, had long blotted out. For this, you must often turn to the Father of lights. . . . Although many books treat of this matter, the best book will be prayer : abandonment to the Spirit of God, who speaks in these meetings of the soul with Him.⁷⁵

From St. Francis Xavier to St. Vincent de Paul the methods of the apostolate had varied according to the customs of different peoples and the character of different congregations that evangelized them. But one thing did not change : the spirit of tender and exhaustless charity which these admirable lines breathe.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

CHAPTER VII

The Intellectual Movement

THE intellectual edifice of the Middle Ages was like the political edifice: the various sciences were organized under the supremacy of theology, as the states of Christendom were in a hierarchical order under the moral hegemony of the pope. But the revolutionary agitation that shook the political equilibrium did not spare the scientific equilibrium. The spirit that secularized the institutions likewise laicized the mental disciplines. Art, sciences, and philosophy became independent. Rubens, that great genius in whom all the artistic currents of the Renaissance flowed and spread out in transplendent productions, worked for the Church more than for the world. By the dozen he devoted his paintings to the Jesuits, his former teachers;¹ but neither he nor his contemporaries thought of asking from theology, for the composition of their scenes or their decorations, those rules which the Middle Ages had followed so scrupulously.²

Even in the sixteenth century these rules were the inspiration of the three masters: Raphael, Michelangelo, and Leonardo da Vinci. Galileo (1564–1642) purposed living and dying a good Catholic; but he violently repulsed every interference of theology in the natural sciences. Philosophy used the same language. We cannot question the religious sincerity of Descartes (1596–1650). “I revered our theology,” he wrote,

¹ For their church in Antwerp, the Jesuits ordered at one time thirty-nine pictures from Rubens. A. Michel in Lavissee and Rambaud, *Hist. Générale*, V, 443.

² Emile Mâle has proved this in his learned works, *L'art religieux au XIII^e siècle en France* and *L'art religieux à la fin du Moyen Age*.

"and, as much as anyone else, I hoped to gain heaven."³ But was there question of writing a philosophical work? He maintained that he was seeking no knowledge but that which could be found in oneself or in the great book of the world.⁴ Although he held that his philosophy was more in accord with all the truths of the faith than was that of Aristotle,⁵ he sought accord only in defending his doctrine of complete solidarity and continuity with theology, only by putting aside the truths of faith and by opposing, as a final rejection, merely these words: "Theology is not my business."⁶ Cartesian philosophy prepared the way for rationalism by this attitude and by its doctrines of the absolute clarity of thought, of the so-called sufficiency of philosophy and science, of the independence of morality, as also by the suppression of any rational preparation for faith, of any action of reason in faith, of any understanding of faith. Another sincere Christian, the Oratorian Malebranche, supplemented the system by assimilating reason to the divine Word, to indicate the logical passage which, leaving Christian Cartesianism, would produce the Cartesian freethinker.⁷

The Study of Theology

Dethroned from its sovereign prestige in the eyes of the world, theology still continued to develop and to be enriched. Soon, in another way, we see it recover the attention of the world in the midst of Jansenist and quietist disputes. Meanwhile it extended and diversified its branches. Beside rational theology, whose traditions were maintained by the sons of St.

³ Descartes, *Discourse on Method*, Part I, no. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 14.

⁵ Descartes, *Œuvres* (Cousin ed.), IX, 359.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, 73, 108, 133, 309; VIII, 328.

⁷ Cf. Bossuet's letter (May 21, 1687) to a disciple of Malebranche, in which he says: "I see a great conflict in preparation against the Church under the name of Cartesian philosophy." *Correspondance de Bossuet* (Levesque and Urbain ed.), III, 372.

Dominic and of St. John of the Cross, patristic theology, too much neglected since Peter Lombard, profited by the immense works of erudition of the Renaissance. From the necessity of commenting on the reforms of the Council of Trent was born pastoral theology. The revival given to ascetical and mystical theology by St. Ignatius, St. Theresa, and St. Francis de Sales was continued by the Oratory and by St. Sulpice. The need of adapting the principles of morality to the new conditions of modern times gave birth to casuistry. The need of defending the faith against the Protestants and the libertines gave a new impulse to polemical and apologetic theology.

Spain has always been the classical land of traditional scholastic theology. The University of Salamanca replaced in its schools Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences* by St. Thomas' *Theological Summa*; this innovation, soon imitated by the other Spanish universities, gradually spread to most of the universities of Europe.⁸ In 1631 the Discalced Carmelites began the publication of the celebrated dogmatic theology of Salamanca, the most grandiose and complete work of the Thomistic school. Five religious took part in the composition of this immense work, and its publication required seventy-one years. Each question, before receiving the *Imprimatur*, was submitted to the examination and discussion of the whole college. The religious scholars wished thus to guarantee the unity of the work and the most perfect accord of their teaching, even in the least details, with the doctrine of St. Thomas. Sometimes the question was decided by vote. Thus the work represents less the views of the different authors than the official teaching of the Order.⁹ The twelve volumes of the *Salmanticenses*—thus the work is spoken of—had been prepared by a course of philosophy in four volumes, published by the Alcalá (*Complutum*) college of the Discalced Carmelites and known as *Com-*

⁸ Cf. De Wulf, *Histoire de la philos. médiévale*, p. 439.

⁹ B. Zimmerman, art. "Carmes" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II, 1789.

plutenses. They were completed by a course of moral theology in six volumes, composed in the same conditions as the course of dogmatic theology and destined to enjoy the same esteem.

Some critics have blamed the *Salmanticenses* for not always quoting exactly the words of the authors they cite. The Carmelites reformed by St. Theresa, to avoid the abuses resulting from attendance at the universities, forbade such attendance, and thus the ground cultivated by the scholars of the Order was much limited.¹⁰ The same may be said of the University of Paris, which in the fourteenth century Pope Benedict XII had called the source of all the sciences¹¹ and which would soon take the place of Salamanca as the center of theological studies. A powerful scientific activity appeared there at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Although the traditions of dialectical teaching were religiously preserved in the old Sorbonne, philosophical and critical ideas were stirring the students who gathered about the professorial chairs of the young Collège de France. The Jesuits in their colleges were trying to give satisfaction to two tendencies. Little by little these tendencies penetrated each other. Thus, although Hebrew was scarcely taught except in the Jesuit schools and at the Collège de France, the critical and exegetical method had its defenders and representatives at the college of Navarre: such was Father de Launoy, a ruthless scholar and a great investigator of the lives of the saints. This house soon was accessible to all the ideas and all the intellectual and political movements that were taking place outside. It did not rest simply on old practices or on traditional teaching, but entered into the current of the times. Of the three chairs of theology in the college of Navarre, two were concerned with the refutation of heresies and with controversy.

Among the professors who were outstanding at the Sor-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 1785.

¹¹ *Studium parisiense, quod est caeteris praecipuum et fons omnium studiorum. Bull. Rom.*, Part II, p. 211.

bonne, history should retain the names of two men who would take an important part in the disputes of Gallicanism and Jansenism: Andrew Duval and Nicholas Cornet. A single fact will be enough for the eulogy of the former: he was the friend, the advisor, and the confessor of St. Vincent de Paul. The first to fill the chair of theology founded at the Sorbonne by Henry IV in 1596, chosen later to be one of the three visitors of the Carmelites of France, Andrew Duval neglected no occasion to win acceptance for the Roman doctrines and to defend the authority of the pope. He translated and completed the hagiographical work of Ribadeneira and published against Edmond Richer, in 1614, a treatise on the pope's supreme power over the Church. Nicholas Cornet, whom Richelieu wished to have for his spiritual director and to whom Mazarin confided the presidency of the Council of Conscience, occupied a chair at the college of Navarre, where he was Bossuet's teacher. Bossuet praised him as a learned doctor who was wonderfully familiar with all the opinions of the School and who spoke with such weight and moderation that even his enemies had no quarrel with him.¹²

Students of all nations thronged the lectures at the Sorbonne to win the much desired cap of doctor in theology. The process was hard. First they had to obtain the degree of master of arts, which was awarded only after two formal examinations. The first examination took place at the school, the second at Notre Dame or at St. Genevieve, before a chancellor assisted by four professors. Then began the studies of theology. These lasted three years, after which the candidate could face the tests of the baccalaureate. The degree of bachelor in theology was obtained by successfully sustaining a thesis called the Tentative. But the Tentative was preceded by two new examinations. One bore on philosophy, the other on theology; each lasted four hours and took place before four doctors drawn by lot. The

¹² Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre de Nicolas Cornet*.

favorable votes of the four doctors was required. After obtaining the bachelor's degree, a candidate had to wait at least two years before beginning the licentiate. These two intervening years were employed by the students in the reception of holy orders, in preaching, and in preparation for the last two examinations, required for entrance to the licentiate. Bossuet preached several of his sermons during that period of his university education. In the course of the licentiate, the candidate had to sustain three theses: the Minor, the Major, and the Sorbonne. The Minor began at eight o'clock in the morning and ended at half-past four in the afternoon; but the Major and the Sorbonne began at six o'clock in the morning and lasted until six o'clock in the evening. These last two could not take place in the same year. Ten examiners attended each thesis. Before receiving the emblems of the doctorate, the candidate sustained what was called the Vespers. The session lasted three hours and a half. It was devoted partly to a discussion with a young bachelor on the thesis called Expectative, partly to replying to the arguments advanced by the doctors. The next day, or a few days later, the candidate presided at what was called the Aulica; then he received the doctor's cap. On his knees, with bare head, and his hand on the Gospel, he took his oath before the general assembly of the faculty, and finally he was admitted to take his place among the doctors.

Positive Theology

We have noted that, in the studies at the Sorbonne, concern with historical and critical questions mingled happily with rational speculation. In the case of some French theologians they became preponderant. Positive theology, which had its forerunner in Melchior Cano, arose in France with Father Petau (Jesuit) and Father Morin (Oratorian).

"Denis Petau soared like an eagle above all the theologians

of his day.”¹³ Pope Leo XIII puts him at the head of “the eminent men that the Church of France had a right to be proud of.”¹⁴ Born at Orléans (August 11, 1583), Denis Petau revealed in early childhood exceptional powers of memory and intelligence. By the time he reached adolescence he was writing poetry, by way of amusement, in the language of Virgil and Homer. That was the period when the Protestants were extolling the prodigious labors of Scaliger in the realm of historical chronology and were defying the Catholics to present a monument comparable to the *De emendatione temporum*. The father of Denis Petau, an ardent Catholic and polished literary man, contemplated, for his son, the glory of accepting that defiance. Often he used to say: “My son, some day you must overcome the giant of the Allophyles.”¹⁵ Jerome Petau’s wish was heard. At the age of seventeen, Denis won brilliantly at the Sorbonne, in the presence of the doctors Duval, Ysambert, and Gamache, the title of master of arts, by a thesis sustained in Greek. Two years later he obtained a chair of philosophy in the University of Bourges. Three years after this, he joined the Society of Jesus and entered upon practices of the most earnest piety and showed a tireless passion for historical studies. In 1627 appeared the first of his great works, *De doctrina temporum*, in two large volumes, to which were soon added a third, a chronological encyclopedia which surpassed the work of Scaliger and prepared the way for the masterpiece of the Benedictine school, *L’art de vérifier les dates*.

Appointed professor at the celebrated college of Clermont, Denis Petau reached the height of his renown by the publication of his *Dogmata theologica*, which appeared in four volumes from 1644 to 1650. This was a work without precedent. Two other great Jesuits, Suarez, in his vast dissertations, and Bel-

¹³ *Omniū theologorum hujus periodi gloriam obscuravit Dionysius Petavius aquilae in morem alios praetervolans*. Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius*, I, 398.

¹⁴ Leo XIII, Encyclical of September 8, 1899.

¹⁵ Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire des hommes illustres*, XXXVII, 83.

larmino, in his immortal *Controversies*, had astonished the world by their prodigious erudition. But the former was conceived from the metaphysical point of view; the latter had a polemical tendency; in both cases the exactitude was all that might be desired. In his *Dogmata theologica*, Petau, remaining strictly on the terrain of history, merely questioned the Fathers and registered their testimony, such as reported by their authentic writings, expurgated from all subsequent revision and from all tendacious commentary. Indeed, the work was not perfect. The author himself felt obliged to revise it here and there later. He was blamed for having let a suspicion of Arianism rest on the ante-Nicene Fathers,¹⁶ for having somewhat exaggerated the doctrine of the Greek Fathers on the sending of the Holy Ghost.¹⁷ But Petau's work as a whole remained an imperishable monument of theological science.¹⁸ That great man, who had a tender devotion to the Blessed Virgin and who left off his patient researches only to spend long intervals before the Blessed Sacrament,¹⁹ died at Paris on December 11, 1652.²⁰

Archaeology, exegesis, and history, no less than positive theology, have a right to claim Father Jean Morin as one of their glories. Born at Blois in 1591, in the heart of Calvinism, he studied first at Leyden, then at Paris, philosophy, theology, Oriental languages, Sacred Scripture, the Fathers, and the councils. The violent disputes of his coreligionists, which he had witnessed in Holland, drove him from Protestantism. A few conferences with Cardinal Duperron led him to the Catholic faith. In 1618 he asked to be received into the Oratory. The

¹⁶ Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 404, note 1.

¹⁷ Labauche, *Leçons de théologie dogmatique*, I, 161.

¹⁸ Cf. Bossuet, *Premier avertissement aux protestants*.

¹⁹ Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 400.

²⁰ This great scholar did not possess the gifts for teaching. At the college of Clermont, where Maldonatus had his lecture hall filled to capacity, Petau talked to an almost empty hall; his few listeners often fell asleep. A certain German remarked: *Vidi Petavium docentem et discipulos dormientes*.

publication of his great work (1633), *Exercitationes biblicae*, in which he set forth the first general theory of biblical criticism, drew the attention of the learned world to him. Various treatises of positive theology and especially his celebrated treatise on penance, at which he labored for thirty years, made his reputation almost world-wide. Richard Simon's publication of Father Morin's correspondence after the latter's death showed that Father Morin had literary relations with most of the great men of his age, in France as also in Italy, England, Germany, Holland, and even the Orient. This man, whose fame was so great, was a model of humility and simplicity. He studied much, but he prayed still more. His conversion to Christianity alienated him from his close relatives. His only revenge was to bequeath his patrimony to them and thus to leave them the double testimony of his disinterestedness and of his charity.²¹

Pastoral Theology

Pastoral theology had been taught with incomparable authority in the sixteenth century by St. Charles Borromeo and Venerable Bartholomew a Martyribus. The Carthusian Molina (d. 1619), the Jesuit Renaud (d. 1623), and the Marchand brothers (d. 1648, 1661) continued their work. Molina's *Instruccion de Sacerdotes*, which was placed in the sacristies at the disposition of the clergy,²² the *Pratique du tribunal de la pénitence* by Renaud, which St. Alphonsus esteemed so highly, James Marchand's *Hortus pastorum*, and Peter Marchand's *Tribunal sacramentale* prepared and furthered the admirable works of Francis de Sales, Berulle, Vincent de Paul, and Olier for the reform of the clergy.

General moral theology, represented at first by Sánchez (d. 1610), Bonacina (d. 1631), Coninck (d. 1633), and Santarelli

²¹ Perraud, *L'Oratoire de France*, p. 279.

²² Hurter, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

(d. 1639), developed in the direction of casuistry, which triumphed with Bauny (d. 1649), Diana (d. 1663), and Escobar (d. 1669). "The intervention of the priest between man and God," says a non-Catholic historian, "the institution of a canonical and penitential jurisdiction, produced in Catholicism two considerable things, spiritual direction and casuistry. The former was intended to advance man in the way of perfection and might lead to the excess of mysticism and quietism; the latter provided rules to apportion the satisfaction to the offense, and, like all possible jurisprudence, inclined to subtlety."²³ The government of souls by spiritual direction, which sounds them to their depths and sets them in motion by the action of an idea or feeling, is suited rather to tranquil ages. But when a social upheaval has stirred up on all sides new situations and unforeseen cases of conscience, these cases must be solved. Thus we can explain, at the time of the barbarian invasions, the penalties, sometimes strange ones, that fill the penitential books of that period. Thus is justified, at the coming of modern times, the revival of casuistry. A "jurisprudence" is constituted; the most frequently consulted repertories were Bauny's *Somme des péchés*,²⁴ Antonino Diana's *Resolutiones morales*,²⁵ and the *Universae theologiae moralis receptae sententiae* by Father Escobar.²⁶ Unfortunately reasonable limits were not always respected. Etienne Bauny (d. 1649), so it seems, was "a man of ancient manners,"²⁷ and of genuine scholarship. But his idea of placing before the eyes of the public the detailed catalogue of all sins seemed at least singular, and his decisions were found to be far-fetched. Antonino Diana (1585-1663), a priest of

²³ Cournot, *Considérations sur la marche des idées dans les temps modernes*, I, 364. On casuistry, see Brunetière, "Une apologie de la casuistique" in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1, 1885; article "Casuistik" in *Kirchenlexicon* (2nd ed.), II, 2035-44.

²⁴ Bauny, *Somme des péchés qui se commettent en tous estats, de leurs conditions et qualités, en quelles occurences ils sont mortels ou véniels*.

²⁵ In twelve volumes, Lyons, 1629-59.

²⁶ In seven volumes, Lyons, 1652-63.

²⁷ *Vir antiquae probitatis*, Hurter, *Nomenclator*, I, 494.

Palermo, did not deserve such reproach. St. Alphonsus, however, finds that he too often leans toward the broadest views.²⁸ The most blameless of the three is undoubtedly the Jesuit Antonio Escobar y Mendoza. This austere religious who, at the age of eighty, never dispensed himself from the rigorous observance of the fasts of the Church, this zealous missionary whose apostolate, for fifty years, was spent preferably in the hospitals and prisons, gathered in his books the results of his long experience which he tried to base on the opinions of authorized doctors. Some critics have been able to find here and there an inexact citation, a weak argument, a solution too condescending to human weakness. But, all in all, Escobar's work does honor to the science of morals. Only by relying on mutilated texts has anyone been able to reproach him with maxims that are scandalous or ridiculous.²⁹

Ascetical Theology

Ascetical and mystical theology had its doctor in St. Francis de Sales. But this great bishop merely summed up in easily understood language and placed within reach of all the faithful the doctrine of the classical masters of the spiritual life. A new school would draw directly from St. Paul and the early Fathers a mystical doctrine more original and providentially applied to the needs of modern times. Of all the Christian ideas, perhaps none had been more veiled, more altered in the eyes of the world during the agitations of the Renaissance and under the absolute regimes which followed that period, than the idea of the priesthood.

Berulle, Eudes, Bourdoise, Vincent de Paul, Olier, in general all those raised up by God at the beginning of the seventeenth century for the regeneration of the clergy, had from

²⁸ St. Alphonsus, *Theol. moral.*, Bk. VI, no. 257.

²⁹ Karl Weiss, *P. Antonio Escobar y Mendoza*.

childhood been impressed by the idea of the holiness of the priest. In fact, "they became effective promoters of the ecclesiastical reform only by becoming doctors of the eternal priesthood. To be filled at first with the ideal of the priesthood, to be passionately enchanted by it, then to reveal its greatness to the clergy, in their books or their conferences,³⁰ such was the purpose of Condren in *L'idée du sacerdoce et du sacrifice de Jésus-Christ*, of St. Vincent de Paul in the *Conférences de Saint-Lazare*, of Olier in his *Traité des saints ordres*. Thomassin in the second book of *Traité de l'Incarnation* and Bossuet in his *Méditations sur l'Evangile* and his *Sermon pour l'Ascension* magnificently developed their doctrine.

In fact, from what had been merely an instinctive feeling in their childhood, the reason and faith of these great reformers of the clergy made a doctrine. In avoiding excessively subtle views or such as were reckless, to be found at times, views that the relative novelty of this theology may suffice to explain, this is what it is reduced to in substance in the writings of Cardinal de Berulle, Father de Condren, and Father Olier. For the author of the *Grandeurs de Jésus*, of the *Vie de Jésus*, and of the *Elévations à Jésus-Christ*, the model and the source of all priesthood is Christ the Priest, who is Priest only because He is the Son of God, according to the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews (5:5): "Christ also did not glorify Himself that He might be made a high priest: but He that said unto Him: Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee."

For the founder of the Oratory, all the problems of theology are to be found in the relations with the fundamental mystery of the Incarnation of the Word; the dogma of the Incarnation is always what clarifies them.³¹ Father de Condren, starting from this doctrine as from a base, and considering the priesthood and the sacrifice of Christ as the accomplishment of the

³⁰ Grimal, *Le sacerdoce et le sacrifice*, p. xxi.

³¹ Perraud, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

traditional rites of the Old Law, considers in Christ the Priest five successive phases, appealing to one another, which, from the consecration and from the oblation, accomplished in the very act of the Incarnation, finally, by the immolation which is their outward realization, end in the glorious consummation of the victim and finally in His communion in the bosom of God.⁸²

Bossuet speaks of this heavenly priesthood of Christ when he says: "I am enchanted when I consider Christ, our great sacrificer, officiating before that eternal altar where God is adored. . . . Lord, Thou dost celebrate for us an office and a feast eternally at the right hand of Thy Father. Thou showest Him ceaselessly the wounds that appease Him and save us. Thou offerest Him our prayers, Thou intercedest for our faults, Thou blessest us, Thou consecratest us." Father Olier goes a step further in this doctrine. "Our Lord," he says, "made me see that two persons had already labored to make Him honored in His mysteries, namely, Father de Berulle to have His Incarnation honored, Father de Condren to have His Resurrection honored, and that He willed I should make Him honored in His Blessed Sacrament."

A doctrine that Father Olier held also from Father de Berulle was that of the interior life, that of Jesus living in our souls. To consider Christ as the vine of which we are the branches, to have within us the sentiments of our Lord's soul, to assimilate them, to be consumed in Him that He may do all in us: such was the profound thought of the future founder of the Company of St. Sulpice. "His living faith in the Eucharistic mystery, of which he became the minister, saw the image of that consummation in the wonderful transubstantiation which his word operated at the altar." He wrote: "In those days, O my God, Thou didst make me desire to be the bread that is to be used

⁸² Monier, *Vie de M. Olier*, Bk. II, chap. I.

at the Mass, that I might be converted entirely into Thee.”³³

Eight years later, in that forty-day retreat which the servant of God made before he took possession of his parish and which was the culminating point of his interior life, Father Olier experienced the same sentiments with a greater intensity. His biographer writes: “We are not mistaken in thinking that this retreat was a Eucharistic retreat passed entirely at the foot of the altar.”³⁴ From his long meditations, we have an expressive symbol in a figure that he later had reproduced by the painter Le Brun in which, around the sun of the ostensorium, he had inscribed the religious acts that recalled the doctrine of his masters, Berulle and Condren, “and those that are found accomplished only in the state of victim that understands all the perfection of religion.”³⁵

Such, in its broad lines, was the spiritual doctrine that the Oratory and St. Sulpice taught and propagated in the seventeenth century. Primarily inspired by care for the reform of the clergy, it has since shown its beneficent fruitfulness for the direction of souls in general, and even those who refuse to profess it cannot fail to see that it is profound, harmonious, and great.³⁶

Profound, harmonious, and great is likewise the idea of the organization and the rites of the Church set forth by the canonist Barbosa³⁷ and by the liturgists Gavanti and Baudry. We would look in vain in Barbosa’s twenty big tomes, in Gavanti’s *Thesaurus sacrorum rituum*,³⁸ and in Baudry’s *Manuale sac-*

³³ Monier, *op. cit.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Olier, *Mémoires*, III, 37.

³⁶ Grimal, *op. cit.*

³⁷ Agostino Barbosa (1589–1649) was a Portuguese priest, endowed with an astonishing memory and with an almost unbelievable power of work. According to Hurter, he was the leading canonist of his time. Cf. Hurter, *Nomenclator*, I, 485; *Kirchenlexikon*, I, 1985.

³⁸ Batholomew Gavanti, an Italian priest (d. 1638). His great work is regarded as the most valuable of the practical manuals.

*rarum caeremoniarum*³⁹ for an attempt to connect the laws and ceremonies of the Catholic Church with any vast philosophical and historical synthesis. At that period no one seems to have suspected the usefulness of such points of view. The purpose envisaged is exclusively practical. But by their solidity, order, and clarity, the works of Barbosa, Gavanti, and Baudry have deserved to become lasting monuments. In the various states, great lawyers were elaborating, outside the Church and often against the Church, the principles of a new law. But, thanks to the writings of the canonists and liturgists of this period, the clergy would become more clearly aware of their own rights. While French etiquette was of obligation in the courts of Europe, the students of St. Sulpice,⁴⁰ trained by Baudry, and the ecclesiastics of the whole world, instructed by Gavanti, were giving to the ceremonies of public worship a majesty and splendor worthy of them.

Biblical Exegesis

Exegesis, archaeology, and history, exploiting the material accumulated by the Renaissance, soared to new heights.

In the domain of exegesis, the first part of the seventeenth century saw the appearance of four works of considerable importance: the *Commentaries* of Bonfrère, the *Commentaries* of Cornelius a Lapide, the *Polyglot of Paris*, and the *Polyglot of London*. The first commentaries of the Belgian priest, Jacques Bonfrère, on the Pentateuch, which appeared in 1625 and were soon followed by commentaries on the other books of the Bible, obtained a brilliant success. By the clearness of its preliminary explanations, by the soberness of its exegesis, and

³⁹ Michael Baudry or Bauldry, Benedictine monk of the abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés.

⁴⁰ Father Olier asked Dom Baudry to train the St. Sulpice seminarians in the liturgical ceremonies. For several years he performed this duty with great success. Faillon, *Vie de M. Olier*, III, 40, 139.

by the judicious choice of its patristic quotations, the work corresponded to a real need of the clergy and the faithful. "Of all the Jesuit commentators on Holy Scripture, none had followed a better method."⁴¹ But it was soon surpassed by that of a more considerable work, coming from the pen of another Belgian Jesuit, Cornelius Cornelissen van den Steen, better known as Cornelius a Lapide. The latter's Commentaries on all the books of the Bible, except the Psalms and the Book of Job, appeared at Antwerp from 1616 to 1645, in twenty large volumes. No work on Holy Scripture became more widespread or remained longer in vogue. Inferior in its scientific value to the studies of Maldonatus on the four Gospels and to those of Estius on the apostolic Epistles, it contained such an abundance of material that it formed a sort of rich scriptural library of undeniable usefulness for exegetes and especially for preachers.

While Bonfrère and Cornelius a Lapide were concerned with placing within the reach of all the faithful the acquired results of biblical science, two great works, with a view to promote the progress of that science, were published successively at Paris and at London. In Christian antiquity, Origen was the first to attempt to place side by side, for the purpose of comparison and critical study, the different versions of the Bible. His *Hexapla* was the first Polyglot. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the great Cardinal Ximenez thought of making use of the critical researches of his time to take up again, on a new plan, the work of Origen. In 1520 the publication of six folio volumes, entitled *Biblia Polyglotta, nunc primum impressa*, realized his dream. The work cost him more than 150,000 ducats. Six expert scholars, three of them converted Jews, labored at it for eighteen years. When the last sheet of this colossal work was brought to Ximenez, that great man declared: "Lord, I thank Thee that Thou hast brought to a good end so difficult an undertaking." It is the Polyglot known under

⁴¹ Quoted by C. Sommervogel, art. "Bonfrère" in *Dict. de la Bible*.

the name of *Complutensis*, or Polyglot of Alcalá. Fifty years later the Polyglot of Antwerp, published in that city at the expense of King Philip II of Spain, completed the work of Ximenez.⁴²

These two works contributed greatly to revive biblical studies. But both of them left something to be desired. At the outset of the seventeenth century, the scholar Cardinal Duperron and Jacques de Thou, the royal librarian, conceived the project of publishing, with the help of two Maronites, a new Polyglot, more exact and more complete. After the death of both these men in 1618, the lawyer Guy le Jay took up the work. Advised by Cardinal de Berulle and powerfully aided by Father Jean Morin, he brought it to a happy conclusion in 1645. By the beauty of the paper and of the typography, the Polyglot of Le Jay, called the Paris Polyglot, in an incomparable monument. But the expenses of publication had been enormous and ruined the brave scholar who undertook it. Moreover, it had little influence, being soon supplanted by the London Polyglot (Walton's Polyglot). The latter, issued in six volumes (1654 to 1657) in a format that was more convenient, contained important improvements, which made it preferred to the Paris Polyglot. This London Bible was composed under the direction of the Anglican Bishop Brian Walton and under the successive patronage of Cromwell and Charles II. It was put on the Index in 1663; but it is no longer included in the official edition of forbidden books.

The revival of the old studies did not absorb all the activity of the scholars. At Rome a new science, the archaeology of the catacombs, was born. Its author was Antonio Bosio, a scholar possessed of amazing information, an explorer of tireless intrepidity. He undertook to begin the interpretation of monuments of all sorts, even the humblest, by the help of ancient

⁴² The Antwerp Polyglot was published between 1569 and 1572. See Manganot, art. "Polyglotte" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*

texts gleaned from the writings of the Church Fathers and of other ecclesiastical writers.⁴³ To explore at the peril of his life all the labyrinths of the Roman catacombs and to gather with close attention and faultless method the writings of the Fathers, Latin, Greek, and Oriental, the canons of the councils, and the letters of the popes, in a word, all the documents that could throw light on the Church of the first centuries: such was the task he undertook. The appearance in 1634, four years after his death, of his great work, *Roma soterranea*, was the fruit of his immense labors and has won for him the title of "The Columbus of the Catacombs." De Rossi writes: "I declare that this great man knew everything that could be known in his time about underground Rome."⁴⁴

The Study of Church History

In Church history, Baronius always remained the master who was continued and imitated by others. None of his continuators, neither Sponde nor Rainaldi nor Bzovius, is comparable to the great Oratorian. But the special Churches and particular institutions of different peoples found historians of great merit. Such were Mariana, the Spanish Livy, and André Duchesne, "the Father of French History." Lastly, this period saw the beginning of two historical works of capital importance, sufficient to make a century illustrious: the *Gallia christiana* and the *Acta sanctorum*.

The idea of a catalogue of the archbishops and bishops of all the French sees was a very old idea. The merit was to make this catalogue a scientific work. This advance was attempted in 1621 by Jean Chenu of Bourges, a lawyer in the Parliament of Paris, then, more successfully, by Claude Robert, archdeacon

⁴³ Leclercq in *Dict. d'archéol. chrét.*, I, 1087.

⁴⁴ De Rossi, *Roma soterranea cristiana*, I, 81. Cf. Leclercq, art. "Bosio" in *Dict. d'archéol. chrét.*

of Châlon-sur-Saône, who in 1626 published, under the title of *Gallia christiana*, a folio volume of new chronological tables, accompanied with summary notes, taken from the episcopal and monastic records. The work was still imperfect. In 1646 the two brothers Scévole and Louis de Sainte-Marthe, lawyers in Parliament and historiographers of France, presented to the Assembly of the Clergy the dedicatory letter of a new *Gallia christiana*. The work, considerably enlarged, contained a biographical note on each of the persons named and added to the list of names of prelates that of the abbots of monasteries. The two brothers were descended from a line of scholars which would be perpetuated after them. They had already given in several works, notably in the *Histoire généalogique de la Maison de France*, which appeared in 1619, a promise of solid scholarship. But the work they had undertaken exceeded their strength and could be brought to perfection only by a society of scholars. The *Gallia christiana* of the Sainte-Marthe brothers, published in 1656 in four folio volumes, after their death, through the care of a son of Scévole, was replaced half a century later by the *Gallia christiana* of the Benedictines of St. Maur, published under the direction of Dom Denys de Sainte-Marthe, a distant relative of the preceding.⁴⁵

The project of assembling in a single work the lives of all the saints from the very earliest time of the Church, had often tempted the pen of ecclesiastical writers. Since Surius, who received encouragement from St. Pius V, Father Ribandeneira, the Jesuit, had published (1599-1601), under the title of *Flos sanctorum*, two folio volumes, soon translated into different languages throughout Christendom. But these works had as their sole object the edification of the faithful and did not always observe the rules of prudent criticism. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Father Heribert Rosweyde, a pro-

⁴⁵ Cf. Langlois, *Manuel de bibliographie historique*, p. 297; Moréri, art. "Sainte-Marthe" in *Dict. historique*.

fessor at the Jesuit college of Douai, conceived the plan of a hagiographical collection following the principles of a truly scientific erudition, and he started to gather the material.

After Rosweyde's death (1629), Father John van Bolland was ordered by his superiors to utilize the precious collections of Rosweyde. These he augmented by extending his researches to the libraries located outside the Netherlands, which Rosweyde had not explored. A workshop was established at the Antwerp residence, with correspondents wherever there were members of the Society. Bolland is the one who drew up the plan of the publication: they would furnish the *Acta sanctorum*, that is, the documents relating to the lives of the saints, with preliminary dissertations, notes, and indexes, following the order of the Roman calendar.⁴⁶

The first volume of the collection of the Bollandists appeared in 1643. In this first volume the critical spirit appeared. In its totality the work would give great honor to the Order that had dared to assume so immense a task. Its scientific character became more and more pronounced.⁴⁷ Like Rosweyde, Bolland did not appreciate the vastness of the task he had assumed. We are told that he planned, after completing the *Acta* of the saints of the Latin Church, to publish those of the Greek Church, and then in his later years to relax by writing on other subjects. But he lived only to issue the first eight volumes containing the lives of the saints honored in January, February, and March.

The Anti-Christian Movement

While these enormous works were being prepared, works that would symbolize that harmonious equilibrium between science and faith, between modern aspirations and ancient culture, a spirit of unbelief and disorder, spreading in literature and in the salons, gradually invaded the souls of the time.

⁴⁶ Langlois, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁴⁷ Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, V, clxiii.

Its starting point is not distinguishable from that of Protestantism, and its development would lead to the French Revolution.

Repressed by the authorities and compromised by its own excesses, the movement of the Renaissance and of the Reformation had at length resulted in Stoicism and in Epicureanism, both of them stemming from a vague deism.

"Germany, with its leaden sky, more serious consciences, and harsher life, was the place where Stoicism again came to life: the severity of the first Reformers extended a hearty welcome to it. From there it passed to France."⁴⁸ Montaigne and Charron were its representatives. Montaigne, considering dogmas, said: "What do I know?" And when he came to morals, he declared: "We must accept nothing but ourselves. Let us make our contentment depend on ourselves." Montaigne continued going to Mass because Cicero, in his *Treatise on Law*,⁴⁹ prescribed it for him. The *Encheiridion* of Epictetus circulated in society. The Stoic spirit was dominant in literature. Balzac's ambition was to live and die like Socrates. The personages most highly praised by the great Corneille have about them something Stoic. Descartes' Christianity has many analogies to the doctrine of the Porch. The central idea of his morals is, according to his own expression, "to so act that his chief contentment shall depend only on himself."⁵⁰ These are almost the very words of Montaigne.

But the same causes that gave birth to Stoicism in strong and grave souls produced Epicureanism in less elevated natures. We know Bacon's principle of morality, which was to accommodate his spirit to the occasion and the opportunity, to pursue several aims so as to attain the secondary if the chief one should elude him.⁵¹ In what a manner the celebrated chan-

⁴⁸ Strowski, *Pascal et son temps*, I, 19.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30 note.

⁵⁰ Descartes, *Correspondance*, IV, 221.

⁵¹ Cf. Hoeffding, *History of Modern Philosophy*, I, 190.

cellor conformed his life to these principles, is well known. In passing from utilitarian England to sensual Italy, this doctrine became accentuated. The Italian Lucilio Vanini pushed it to its logical consequences. In curious dialogues, published in 1616 under the title *De naturae arcanis*, which Father Garasse calls rather *An Introduction to the Indevout Life*, this curious philosopher, who received the priestly anointing, professes the most absurd unbelief. He speaks in a lively and reckless tone, observes no moderation, makes fun of believers, undertakes to sharpen people's wits and to teach them to live according to nature. Burned at the stake at Toulouse in 1619 as an atheist and blasphemer of the name of God, he died crying out: "Nature is the only God, and death opens the repose of nothingness." ⁵²

This Vanini is a representative personage. Many others of the same sort came, like him, from Italy to France and there made numerous disciples. In 1623 Father Garasse, a Jesuit, pointed out these libertines, "these Epicureans, these parasites, these drunkards, these indecent men . . . who seek their contentment in the vapor of their own filth." ⁵³ The French character, with its qualities of discipline, logic, and clearness, practically tempered the excesses of that fantastic and crass Epicureanism. The Hôtel de Rambouillet, which opened its doors to the fine minds about 1617, and which shone in all its brilliance in 1630, was moderately penetrated by it. But here and there in the world pamphlets circulated, and satires and poems, which advanced the theory of this worship of nature. ⁵⁴

Thus the Catholic reform had in vain refuted the errors of the Protestants, had repressed their revolts, and, by genuine reforms, had removed every pretext of the critics who made up

⁵² On Vanini, see Strowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-57.

⁵³ Garasse, *La doctrine curieuse des beaux esprits de ce temps*, p. 954.

⁵⁴ Mersenne, *L'impiété des déistes, athées et libertins de ce temps*.

the strength of Luther and Calvin. The religious danger was reborn in another form; it extended to the very countries which the Protestant Revolt had spared. At the side of Protestantism, which spread under its varying forms, beside the Gallicanism which was far from being disarmed, soon a new Stoicism arose and tried to penetrate the Church under the name of Jansenism. A new form of Epicureanism threatened the Church under the appearances of philosophy.⁵⁵

France seemed to become the principal center of these doctrines. Thus we can put our finger on the inadequacy of the policy of Henry IV, Richelieu, and Louis XIV. They had eliminated heresy, but society had let itself be penetrated by paganism.

⁵⁵ Strowski, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

PART II

ORTHODOXY

UP TO the middle of the seventeenth century, the Church had been able to devote her best efforts to the restoration of faith and morals. From that time on, the strife against the growing errors absorbed her. Protestantism, triumphant at Westphalia, entertained new ambitions; Gallicanism, formulated by Richer and Dominis, became more threatening with Louis XIV; Jansenism had its doctors and its organization; the libertines and the headstrong spirits constituted a sect with an importance that could not be ignored; the painful quarrel of quietism, which set two great bishops in opposition to each other, complicated the uneasiness from which the Church suffered. A political and social crisis extending to all Europe aggravated the religious crisis and, as in the sixteenth century, threatened a general outburst. Few men seemed to take account of the gravity of the situation. The papacy, stripped of the political prerogatives it enjoyed in the Middle Ages and henceforth curtailed in the purely ecclesiastical domain, limited itself to protesting against the new forms of error. But it did so forcibly, with perseverance and authority. So well did it pursue this course, that, in the shipwreck of the other social powers, it remained the only power capable of being accepted by the new governments that arose from the revolutionary distress. Therefore, before following in detail the phases of these various strifes, we will take a brief view of the Roman Pontiffs who followed one another during this period.

CHAPTER VIII

The Popes of the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century (1655-1700)

THE conclave that opened in the first days of 1655 to provide a successor to Innocent X, presented an unusual appearance. On the occasion of the preceding elections, too often nephews of the deceased, surrounded by a band of partisans, presented themselves, ready to seize the power. Innocent X left no nephew who could form a faction. The members of the Sacred College felt themselves under obligation to no one. They entered the conclave with complete freedom. Cardinal Pallavicino relates that a number of them, distinguished and independent men, had formed an alliance, promising one another to obey only their own convictions. The Spanish ambassador called them "the flying squadron." This designation clung to them and served later to qualify similar associations.¹ We are told that, at the opening of the conclave, when one of the cardinals proposed to make a choice among the leaders, they replied: "Everybody has a head and feet for himself."²

Alexander VII (1655-67)

The deliberations of the conclave lasted almost three months. From the first day, however, the eyes of all turned to one of their number. Beside the deathbed of Innocent X, whose advanced age had been surrounded by so many intrigues, Car-

¹ The "flying squadron" exercised its good influence until the eighteenth century.

² Ranke, *History of the Popes*, II, 364.

dinal Ottoboni declared: "We must now seek a man of virtue." One of his colleagues, Azzolini, pointing to Cardinal Chigi, replied: "If you are looking for a perfect upright man, there is one." Fabio Chigi was not only renowned for his spotless probity; under the preceding pontificate he had shown himself an outspoken foe of the crying abuse that had aroused public indignation: nepotism. But his candidacy encountered keen opposition on the side of France. Mazarin, offended by certain resistance that Chigi had made to his policy with regard to some diplomatic negotiations, neglected no steps to keep Chigi from the papal see.³ This circumstance was the cause of numerous difficulties that obstructed the election. At last (April 7, 1655) the "flying squadron" was victorious. Fabio Chigi was elected and took the name of Alexander VII.

The news of this election was everywhere received with joy. According to memoirs of the time, "at Paris bonfires were lighted all through the city. People spoke of the new Pope as a fearless man. They added that neither prison nor the threat of death would ever be able to force him to do anything contrary to the resolves he had taken."⁴ His past seemed to give promise of his future. As representative of the Holy See in the negotiations that ended in the Treaty of Westphalia, his spirit of conciliation was matched by his uprightness. After the signing of the Treaty, he had protested against the clauses that Innocent X later disapproved. The worthiness of his life, his enlightened taste for the arts, his judicious choice of the men who composed his habitual entourage, in the eyes of everybody these facts presaged a pontificate that would be one of reform and glory.

But the great difficulties that the Pope had to face from the first days of his reign and that continued to increase, prevented the realization of these hopes.

³ On Mazarin's intrigues in this matter, see *Revue des questions historiques*, XXVI, 9-23; XXX, 115-20.

⁴ Hermant, *Mémoires*, II, 661.

In France the disturbances of the Fronde had produced divisions and bitterness which the Jansenist quarrel revived. When Alexander VII took possession of the papal see, the astute Mazarin, fearing to see all the strength of the former Fronde and of the Jansenists join hands against him in the person of the Cardinal de Retz, moved heaven and earth to keep his dread adversary from the archbishopric of Paris. His supreme maneuver was to launch against Gondi a charge of high treason. Alexander dreaded to displease a French minister and to strengthen the party of Arnauld, connected to the Cardinal de Retz. But, on the other hand, he could not resolve to let a member of the sacred college be brought before a civil tribunal. Long diplomatic negotiations resulted in a compromise: the Cardinal would leave the government of the archbishopric of Paris to a vicar, whom he would choose from a list of six names presented by the King. Retz would not consent to hand in his resignation until seven years later, that is, in 1662.⁵

The situation was more tense in Spain, where the government refused to the official representative of the Holy Father the title of nuncio and the right to open the tribunal of the nunciature. In Poland, John Casimir, a weak prince, was ill prepared by his former life to strive against the most formidable perils which his nation ever encountered.⁶ That was the hour when, as Bossuet says, "all that was left was to consider in what direction the great tree would fall, after being shaken by so many hands and struck by so many blows to its roots."⁷ John Casimir could offer the Church only the homage of a sincere faith and a powerless good will. Venice, in former times the bulwark of Christendom against the Turk, was now reduced to the necessity of asking the Pope for help.

⁵ Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, V, 559-73; Artaud de Montor, *The Lives and Times of the Popes*, VI, 79-82.

⁶ John Casimir had been a religious of the Society of Jesus. When he became heir to the throne of Poland, the Pope released him from his vows. He then married his sister-in-law Marie-Louise, queen dowager.

⁷ Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre d'Anne de Gonzague*.

In Germany, Ferdinand was engaged in forwarding the Counter Reformation in his hereditary domains, but sometimes his rigorous methods in dealing with the Protestants became more compromising than salutary; his authority declined. Alarmed by the progress of Sweden in the north and understanding that the restoration of a monarchy comparable to that of Charles V was now impossible, "he merely tried to give some new support to the imperial power: to this end he introduced eight new members into the 'college of the princes,' hoping that they would, through gratitude or self-interest, give their votes to the Habsburgs."⁸

Moreover, this conduct was in harmony with the movement taking place throughout Europe. There was never a time more favorable to the aristocracy than the middle of the seventeenth century, when, throughout the whole extent of the Spanish monarchy, that power which preceding kings had withdrawn from the high nobility, again fell into their hands; when the constitution of England acquired, amid the most perilous conflicts and struggles, that aristocratic character which it retains even to our times; when the French Parliaments persuaded themselves that they could perform a part similar to that taken by the English houses; when the nobility acquired a decided predominance through all the German territories—one here and there excepted, where some courageous prince overpowered all efforts for independence; and when the Estates of Sweden attempted to impose insufferable restraints on the sovereign authority, and the Polish nobility attained to unfettered self-government. This spirit was now becoming prevalent in Rome; a numerous, powerful, and wealthy aristocracy surrounded the papal throne; the families already established imposed restraints on those that were but newly rising; from the self-reliance and authoritative boldness of monarchy, the ecclesiastical

⁸ Blondel in Lavissee and Rambaud, *Hist. générale*, VI, 547.

sovereignty was passing to the deliberation, sobriety, and measured calmness of aristocratic government.⁹

In what more particularly concerned the Pope, the organization of the Roman Congregations, such as was done by Sixtus V and completed by Urban VIII, thereafter lessened his initiative. In strictly spiritual affairs, of course the absolute power of the supreme pontiff was not contested. But in the questions of making war, concluding peace, or raising taxes, he was obliged to consult the cardinals.

Such were the causes that prevented Pope Alexander VII from acting as a St. Gregory the Great, a St. Gregory VII, or an Innocent III would have done, even if he had the genius of those great pontiffs. At the end of a year, his confidant, Father Oliva, rector of the Jesuits' college, directly declared that the Pope would be guilty of a sin if he did not summon his nephews to his side. He maintained that the foreign ambassadors never would have so much confidence in a mere minister as in a near relation of the Pope; that the Holy Father, being thus less perfectly supplied with information, would have fewer facilities for the due administration of his office.¹⁰ The cardinals, consulted in the consistory of April 24, 1656, were of the same opinion as the pious Jesuit. Alexander VII then recalled to Rome his brother Mario and his nephews; one of these, Flavio, became a cardinal, the other married a Borghese. But the Pope's relatives did not obtain the political preponderance expected. The Pontiff, giving up all hope of grasping the personal power on which he had counted, turned over most affairs to the Congregations, and particularly to Cardinal Rospigliosi, who later succeeded him as Clement IX.

Alexander VII then devoted part of his time to the study of literature and philosophy, in the company of some scholars.

⁹ Ranke, *op. cit.*, II, 371.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

Among these was Sforza Pallavicino, who dedicated to the Pope his *History of the Council of Trent*. Alexander collected the poems he had written in his youth and published them under the title of *Philometi labores juveniles*. However, nothing would be more unjust than to attribute to this pope the defects and vices with which his memory has been besmirched by several historians, on the basis of an apocryphal account by the Venetian, Angelo Corraro.

The Pope's taste for beautiful edifices is undeniable, and on their construction he spent enormous amounts of money. But, to be quite just, we must recognize that he used a large part of his revenues for this purpose and that the buildings he put up contributed greatly to the adornment of the Eternal City. He finished the Sapienza College, begun by Leo X according to the designs of Michelangelo, he erected the magnificent colonnade of the piazza of St. Peter's, constructed the fine Chigi Piazza, made the clearing for the piazza of the Pantheon, engaged Bernini for the decoration of the Porta del Popolo, made the marshes of Baccano a healthful place, built an arsenal at Civitavecchia, and equipped several ships to help the Venetians and the Emperor in the war undertaken against the Turks.

These material achievements were merely the least part of the works of Alexander's pontificate. He fought vigorously in the defense of the rights of the Holy See, for the maintenance of the faith and of sound morality: he fearlessly resisted Louis XIV in the affair of the Pope's Corsican guard; he ordered the Jansenists to sign a precise formula that left no room for subterfuge; he condemned certain maxims of lax morality; he put on the Index the book written by Father Pérot of the Society of Jesus for the *Apology of Casuists*. Christian piety owes to Alexander's pontificate the ratification of the immemorial cult rendered to King Ferdinand III, the canonization of St. Francis de Sales, and the publication of the famous bull *Sollicitudo*, dated December 8, 1661, by which, without explicitly defining

the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, the Pope affirmed it, recommended the veneration of the Blessed Virgin under this title, and, under the gravest canonical penalties, condemned those who should dare to attack the pious belief, whether publicly or privately. This bull, joyfully welcomed by the Catholic world and celebrated in Spain with public manifestations, was regarded as the final blow against the enemies of the dogma before its full definition and its supreme triumph.¹¹

About the middle of 1667, the Pope, suffering terribly from gall stones, which had long afflicted him, and from a continual fever that was slowly sapping his strength, summoned to his bedside the members of the sacred college, gave them a report of his conduct during the twelve years of his pontificate, and showed them the cypress coffin he had prepared for himself at the beginning of his pontificate. Was he simply moved by a feeling of humility in the presence of death? Was he thinking of the sad end of his predecessor, Innocent X, whose body remained unburied for three days in a garret for lack of a coffin? His last words were these: "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity." He died May 18, 1667, at the age of sixty-eight.

Clement IX (1667-69)

The conclave to elect Alexander's successor lasted nineteen days, during which the famous "flying squadron" again played a dominant part. Then, on June 20, 1667, the sacred college elected Alexander VII's secretary of state, Cardinal Rospi-
gliosi, who took the name of Clement IX. Since he had conducted negotiations with France and Spain under difficult circumstances, he was familiar with the strength and weakness in the diplomatic situation of the papacy. From the outset of his pontificate, Clement IX took the attitude that he kept to the very end, the attitude of conciliator. The cabinets of Paris and

¹¹ Dubosq de Pesquidoux, *L'Immaculée Conception, histoire d'un dogme*, I, 447-64.

of Madrid had both supported his election.¹² He attempted to maintain with France and with Spain relations of good understanding, even though he had to support the most annoying demands of their governments.¹³

On the other hand, the Jansenist crisis, which reached its convulsion following the imposition of the famous formulary, threatened to create a permanent division in the episcopate of France. The Pope, satisfied with a submission less explicit than his predecessor had required, realized in 1668, with the approval of all, that "peace of the Church," called also the "Clementine peace," which continued for thirty years and permitted the "golden pen"¹⁴ of the Jansenists to turn against the Protestant heresy.

At the same time that he worked to reconcile Jansenists and Jesuits, to combine the efforts of all against Protestantism, he succeeded in re-establishing harmony between France and Spain, in the plan to unite them for a campaign against the Turks, who were threatening Candia. In the Roman states Clement's firm conduct toward his nephews, to whom he abandoned his patrimony, refusing them any kind of other favor, was well calculated to disarm envy; his excellent measures to lessen taxes made his authority popular;¹⁵ his piety, his modesty, his application to the functions of his spiritual office,¹⁶

¹² Hanotaux, *Recueil des instructions données aux ambassadeurs et ministres de France*, I, 221; C. Gérin, *Louis XIV et le Saint-Siège*, p. 192; Gazier, *Les dernières années du cardinal de Retz*, p. 140.

¹³ Sometimes the red hat was asked for candidates who were unworthy of that honor; sometimes French bishops, backed by the King, took upon themselves to suppress certain holydays of obligation; sometimes serious changes were made in the condition of the French religious. Such was the decision of the Council of State (March 4, 1669), subjecting exempt religious to the ordinary of the place for preaching and hearing confessions. Cf. Gérin, *op. cit.*, p. 370. But Clement IX resisted Louis XIV whenever the cause of justice seemed to him to be seriously endangered.

¹⁴ Some time earlier, the apostolic nuncio, receiving the visit of Antoine Arnauld, invited him to employ "his golden pen" in the defense of the Church.

¹⁵ Ciaconius, *Vitae pontificum*, IV, 776.

¹⁶ Gérin, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

won universal veneration for him. But the thwarting of the Candia campaign, which had been the great concern of his reign, was a fatal blow for him. At news of the disaster, he had a long fainting spell.¹⁷ Shortly afterward, during the night of November 30, 1669, he died, at the age of sixty-nine. Abbé de Bourlemont, the chargé d'affaires of France, wrote to Louis XIV: "Your Majesty loses much, and so does all Christendom."

Clement X (1670-76)

A short time before his death, Clement IX, wishing to perpetuate the peaceful policy of his pontificate, had called to his side the president of the Apostolic Camera, Emilio Altieri. This venerable aged man who, in the course of various diplomatic missions and of the government of the Church of Camerino, had shown qualities of prudence and moderation, was told by the Pope: "I am conferring the purple on you because I feel that you will be my successor." And he made him a cardinal.¹⁸ These words and this act were an indication for the sacred college. The rivalry of the factions of France and Spain delayed the election for about five months. Finally, on August 29, 1670, Cardinal Altieri received the required number of votes. He was at that time almost eighty years old. His advanced age made his steps somewhat halting, but his robust constitution and alert mind gave hope for many years of an active and fruitful pontificate.¹⁹ To indicate his intention of continuing the policy of his predecessor, Altieri took the name of Clement X. He held to this determination and solved the difficulties that were pending at the time of his election, as he did also the difficulties that arose during the six years of his reign, in the same spirit as that of the deceased Pontiff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

¹⁸ Muratori, *Annali d'Italia* (ann. 1670), XI, 241.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

The Jansenist quarrel, which was thought ready to revive at the slightest incident, the pending conflicts between the Holy See and the French court, the struggle of the Christian rulers against the Turks, continued to be burning questions. The Clementine peace had been unable to remove all the causes of bitterness and to appease all suspicions. The three chief ministers of Louis XIV—Lionne, Le Tellier, and Colbert—for various reasons became favorable to the Jansenists, intervening in their behalf. Vigorous polemics sprang up again in Germany in connection with a new writing, *Salutary Warnings of the Blessed Virgin to Her Indiscreet Followers*. Clement resisted the solicitations of the French court and condemned the incendiary work, whose author was a lawyer of Cologne, Adam Widenfelt.²⁰

Other troubles arose from the decree of the Council of State, which, in 1669, by its own authority had restrained the privileges of exempt religious. The Pope, by his constitution of June 21, 1670, issued certain regulations, still in force, about the rights of religious in the matter of preaching and confessions. For preaching in their own churches, religious must obtain the approbation of their superiors and must ask the blessing of the bishop of the place. But they could not enter the pulpit of an outside church without the express approbation of the ordinary. In the monasteries, or even in colleges where the regular life was in vigor, the superiors and the confessors of the religious could validly and licitly hear the confessions of seculars belonging to the religious family and of permanent members of the household. But in any other place a special approbation would be needed, even if they were approved for the diocese of their penitent. In cases of doubt about the extent of their privileges, the question would be taken, not before the metropolitan, but before the Supreme Pontiff.²¹

The political pacifying of Europe presented more difficulties.

²⁰ Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 53.

²¹ Constitution *Superna magni Patris familias*; *Bull. rom.*, 1733, VII, 30.

The Turks, masters of Candia, were menacing Italy. To maintain or re-establish peace between the Christian rulers, with a view to leaguering them against the common enemy, had been the great concern of Clement IX; it was likewise that of Clement X. In 1672 he intervened to reconcile Genoa and Savoy; in 1675 and 1676 he offered to mediate to settle the war stirred up again between France and the house of Austria. Meanwhile, with encouragement and material help, he aided the Poles who, under the leadership of John Sobieski, were bravely opposing the Moslem invasion. Unfortunately the policy of Louis XIV, favorable to the Turkish alliance, hindered the realization of Clement X's great project.

In the same spirit of pacification, the Pope regulated several questions of jurisdiction that arose in connection with the missions of the Far East.²² He also issued a series of decrees about the organization of the German College,²³ the removal of the bodies of saints from the catacombs,²⁴ the publication of various works about the missions,²⁵ the conditions under which missionaries could practice medicine or surgery.²⁶ Clement X had reached the age of eighty-six, but he was still full of strength and was endowed with all his clearness of mind.²⁷ On July 22, 1676, he succumbed to an attack of dropsy.

Innocent XI (1676-89)

The conciliatory attitude of the last two popes had obtained a part of the desired results; dangerous reefs had been avoided, the Church had been spared internal divisions that might have

²² *Bull. rom.*, VII, 245 f., 250, 264.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 197, 296, 309, 311.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁷ It is not exact to say that he abdicated his power into the hands of Cardinal Altieri, his adopted nephew. On the unjust suspicions of the French ambassador in this matter, see Gérin, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

been irreparable. But the growing boldness of Gallicanism, which was then incarnate in Colbert, the ablest of the ministers, in the service of the most absolute monarch, Louis XIV, the rumblings of Jansenism, which had not disarmed, and the increasing danger of a Turkish invasion, made desirable the coming of a leader with a stronger hand, with prompter decision, with more daring initiative. The Church was in need of a pope of the race of St. Gregory VII. These hopes were realized in the person of Cardinal Benedetto Odescalchi, who was elected September 22, 1676, and took the name of Innocent XI.

The history of Gallicanism shows us the great Pontiff in the affair of the right of asylum, in that of the regalia, and in that of the four articles of 1682, sustaining a heroic struggle against the King of France and against part of the Gallican episcopate. Under less tragic circumstances he was no less firm. On the very day of his election, so it is said, he showed his resolve to reject all nepotism. Summoning his only nephew, Flavio Odescalchi, who was twenty-two years old, he said to him in a tone of authority: "You will in no way alter your present condition; you will continue your studies; you will receive no present because of your relationship to me, and you will not at all meddle in the government of the Curia." On another day he was presented with a list of candidates for ecclesiastical appointments, with the letters of recommendation from their respective patrons. The Pope asked: "Where are the ones not recommended by anybody?" These names were then pointed out to him, and he put them on the same rank as the others, even appeared to give them a place of preference.

He recalled that the College of Apostolic Secretaries, founded by Callistus III in days of old and often a center of scandal, still existed. He pronounced the dissolution of this College, thus braving the wrath of powerful personages who might be offended by his act of authority. Against the usury of the Jews he published severe decrees, which public opinion had long been

clamoring for but which his predecessors had always hesitated to promulgate. His decrees against immodest dress aroused bitterness against him. But to all this opposition he paid no attention. He was aware that Louis XIV had backed his candidacy to the papacy: yet this consideration carried no weight on the day when the King of France violated the rights of the Holy See. He foretold that a condemnation of the maxims of the casuists would make him seem to favor Jansenism; but when the voice of duty had spoken, he did not hesitate to condemn forty-five maxims tainted with laxism.²⁸

He refused to agree with Louis XIV in the measures taken for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.²⁹ He did not let himself become involved in the imprudent acts of James II for the re-establishment of Catholicism in England. He was even less willing to unite its cause with that of William of Orange, although the latter had informed the Pope that he was taking up arms to defend the rights of the Empire and of the Church against Louis XIV. In fact, the plan of the English malcontents who called William to them, was to dethrone the Catholic King James II and to restore Protestant worship in their country. Innocent, knowing this ulterior purpose, maintained a prudent and circumspect attitude.³⁰

The promptings of justice and peace dominated his whole policy. Immediately after his elevation to the papal throne, when notifying the Christian rulers of his election, he informed them that he was ready to go to any Catholic city that might be selected to discuss in person the articles of peace. At the same time he directed his nuncios to remind all the courts of the past victories of the Turks and the great dangers with which they were menacing Europe and the Church. Emperor Leopold listened to his appeal; but Louis XIV, especially concerned with weaken-

²⁸ Denzinger, nos. 1101-45.

²⁹ Ranke, *op. cit.*, II, 464 (Bk. IX, chap. 1).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

ing the Empire, turned all his attention to directing the Ottoman forces against Austria and Sicily. One historian rightly says: "That was a shortsighted policy. The Pope had another policy, bigger and nobler. He sent his nuncio to cast himself at the feet of John Sobieski, already the terror of the Ottomans since his victory of Kotzim. They found him on the national pilgrimage of Czenstochowa. At the Pope's word, John forgot his just resentment against the Emperor and set out on the march, on the feast of the Assumption. On Sunday, September 12, 1683, he served Mass, received Communion, and led the immortal charge that forever broke the Ottoman might, as he cried out: *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*. After Tours, Navas de Tolosa, and Lepanto, Vienna is indeed, according to Montaigne's expression, "one of the four most beautiful victories that the sun ever shone upon." It saved Christendom and the civilization of the world.

The great Pontiff's last years were passed in the practices of a deep piety. As the Protestant Ranke says, this Pope was austere, humble, pious. The strict integrity that ruled his private life also urged him to fulfill the duties of the papacy, without any lax compromises. So well did he reform and simplify the administration of the Apostolic Camera, that, notwithstanding the abolition of certain taxes, the receipts were soon notably in excess of the expenses. Vigilant against all errors and always firmly independent, he condemned (1687) sixty-eight propositions of the Spanish priest Miguel de Molinos. But the Pope appreciated Molinos' personal qualities and had the consolation of receiving, on September 7 of that year, in the church of the Minerva, the abjuration of this doctor, whose quietist doctrines would soon revive under another form.

Two years later (August 12, 1689), Innocent rendered his soul to God in the deepest sentiments of piety. A few moments before his death, when a certain ambassador assured him that his master would take the Odescalchi family under his protec-

tion, Innocent replied: "We have no house or family. God gave us the pontifical dignity not for the advantage of our kindred, but for the good of the Church and the nations."³¹

Alexander VIII (1689-91)

Alexander VIII and Innocent XII, the two immediate successors of Innocent XI, did not possess the lofty qualities of the deceased Pope. Both, however, benefited by the great efforts and the firm policy of their predecessor.

Pietro Ottoboni, elected on October 6, 1689, under the name of Alexander VIII, was an aged man, seventy-nine years old, but alert and vigorous. His perspicacity and prudence, his rare knowledge of affairs which he had shown as *referendarius* of the two signatures,³² as bishop of Brescia, and as a member of the sacred college, in the pontificates of Alexander VII, Clement IX, Clement X, and Innocent XI, had brought him general esteem. The Duke de Chaulnes, French ambassador, warmly favored his candidacy for the tiara. Alexander VIII was an able administrator. Notwithstanding his subsidies to Venice for the fight against the Turks and his excessive bounty to his relatives, he succeeded in reducing the debt of the States of the Church.

As a watchful guardian of doctrine, he condemned the strange and dangerous theory of "philosophical sin," which was imagined or revived in 1686 and 1689 by two Jesuits, one from Dijon and the other from Pont-à-Mousson. The former maintained "that a human act committed in opposition to right reason by someone who does not know God or who is not thinking of God at the time, is never a mortal sin, no matter how serious

³¹ Cf. Artaud de Montor, *op. cit.*, VI, 148; Immisch, *Papst Innozenz XI.*

³² The "signature" is a sort of rescript sent without any seal, under the simple signature of the Pope or of his delegate. We must distinguish between the signature of justice and the signature of grace. The former is issued in matters of dispute; the latter in matters of favor.

it may be." This would be a simple "philosophical sin." The other Jesuit held that, "for an act to be moral, it is enough that it tends to its final end in an interpretive way, without a person being ever obliged to love that end." Such propositions seemed to repeat errors condemned by Alexander VII and Innocent XI.³³ The Jansenist party became indignant. A lively controversy began. Antoine Arnauld denounced the propositions. By a decree of August 24, 1690, Alexander VIII pronounced the first proposition erroneous and scandalous, the second one heretical.³⁴

The Pope was no less attentive to defend the rights of the Holy See against the encroachments of regalian Gallicanism. In this matter Innocent XI had prepared the way. "However, the Pope and the King remained in a sort of effective neutrality. Alexander waited until he was on his deathbed to publish the bull *Inter multiplices* (August 4, 1690),³⁵ and he adjured Louis XIV, whose Catholic sentiments were well known to him, to accept the bull favorably. In fact, the King successfully opened negotiations with Alexander's successor, resulting in an honorable peace."³⁶

Alexander VIII died on February 1, 1691, at the age of almost eighty-one years, after warmly urging the cardinals to think only of the Church in the discussions of the next conclave. On a single point he had not been faithful to the directions of his great predecessor: by his fatal condescension toward his relatives, the plague of nepotism, which Innocent XI had attempted to destroy, reappeared. The consequences of such a weakness might be incalculable and might endanger the results of all his efforts for the defense of the Church if the condition were not promptly remedied.

³³ See Denzinger, nos. 1101, 1155, 1156, 1157.

³⁴ See Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, I, 748-51.

³⁵ *Bullarium*, IX, 38.

³⁶ Hemmer, art. "Alexandre VIII" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, I, 748.

Probably this thought guided the choice of the sacred college in the election of his successor: one of the first acts of Innocent XII was the publication of a severe bull against nepotism.

Innocent XII (1691–1700)

Antonio Pignatelli, who assumed the tiara on July 16, 1691³⁷ under the name of Innocent XII, issued from one of the most illustrious families of Naples. Made a prelate in 1635 by Urban VIII, when he was barely twenty years old, sent as inquisitor to Malta, then as nuncio to Florence by Innocent X, then to Poland by Alexander VII and to Austria by Clement IX, Antonio Pignatelli had passed his whole life in the highest offices without losing any of his simplicity and humility. This grave and gentle old man seemed, according to Muratori's expression, to bear "the soul of a Roman emperor," which Christian mildness had penetrated.³⁸

At the very outset of his pontificate he gathered about himself a large number of the poor and said: "Here are my nephews." To put an end to nepotism, he published (June 23, 1692) a constitution by which, "in conformity with the holy canons, which forbid bishops to enrich their relatives with the goods of the Church," he declared that he was imposing an inviolable rule, not only for himself, but for all succeeding popes. This rule provided that no pope, under any pretext whatever, not even as recompense for services, should dispose of any goods or office of the Roman Church in favor of his relatives or friends. He says expressly: "If the head of the Church has some poor relatives, he will grant them relief in the same way that he would strangers." Furthermore, to forestall every such temptation, all offices, whether civil, military, or ecclesiastical, that were ordi-

³⁷ He had been elected July 12, 1691.

³⁸ Muratori, *Annali*, XI, 343.

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narily conferred on nephews of the pope, were suppressed. The constitution also prescribed that all new cardinals and all future popes should swear to observe its provisions.³⁹

With this great danger averted, Innocent devoted his attention to putting an end to the differences that had arisen between Rome and the French court. After two years of negotiations, he had the happiness of seeing the French bishops declare to him that they held as non-existing the declarations of the Assembly of 1682. "The French monarch, by a letter to the Pope dated September 14, 1693, revoked the edict published upon the declaration of the clergy of France in regard to the ecclesiastical power."⁴⁰

Innocent XII also had to decide the controversy which had sprung up between Bossuet and Fénelon over the book, *Les maximes des saints*. The edifying submission of the Archbishop of Cambrai in this affair prompted a special brief, full of joy and thanksgiving to God for the happy termination of that regrettable quarrel. The conversion of Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, brought the Pontiff another consolation. This return of a ruler whose domains had been the scene of the first advance of the Protestant heresy seemed to be a fine augury for the future. But the conciliating briefs which the Pontiff published on the subject of Jansenism did not obtain all the results that Innocent hoped for. When, in the spring of 1700, the Pope was stricken with the illness that would soon be fatal, the Jansenist party again began to act in a disturbing manner. At the same time, sad news came from China, where the unfortunate conflict between the Dominicans and the Jesuits was becoming worse and was threatening to endanger the future of the missions. When about to leave this world (September 27, 1700), Innocent XII could realize that, in spite of all his labors, he was leaving a heavy burden to his successor.

³⁹ *Bullarium*, IX, 260-63.

⁴⁰ Artaud de Montor, *op. cit.*, VI, 159.

CHAPTER IX

Protestantism

PROTESTANTISM, officially recognized by the contracting parties of the Treaty of Westphalia, had beheld its newly formed dogmas and discipline break up in consequence of the dissolving principles that it contained within itself. Although Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin had arrogated to themselves the right to separate from Rome while still remaining Christians, who would forbid their followers to separate from these new leaders while still remaining Protestants? However, the conquering ambitions of the heresy were not dead. In Germany we see it, with Leibnitz, try to establish between its different faiths a ground of common understanding; with Spener it will try to find an internal restoration by piety. In England, with Cromwell, it will set itself up as a political institution. In France it will rely on the Edict of Nantes to constitute a state within the state. Everywhere it will insinuate its spirit of religious individualism and social revolution.

The Crisis in Germany

Nowhere was Protestantism's internal crisis more acute than in Luther's fatherland. Founded on the two contradictory principles of a profession of Christian faith and of private interpretation, did the Reformed Churches make choice of the formula of faith? In that event, they oppressed freedom of conscience under an authority more intolerable than that of the Catholics, because they could not invoke the same supernatural guaranties.

Did they rely rather on private interpretation? They would thus render any formula of faith unstable and would soon witness its disappearance.

The sincere believers grieved at seeing the work of the Reformation crumble and dissolve. The German patriots suffered from the damage which such divisions inflicted on the cause of the Germanic fatherland, and they envied the strength which the unity of religion gave to Catholic France. The peril was the greater because the political and social crisis brought on by the dissolution of the Holy Empire and the development of a new aristocracy, was accentuated by the penetration of Roman law into the German laws and jurisprudence. The influence of the jurists, so powerful in Italy and France for three centuries past, had thus far respected the Christianized German law. But at length it was introduced there, and the consequences of that introduction had been lamentable. The absolutism of the princes, the substitution of governmental officials for the municipal powers and the diets, the military collection of the taxes, the deterioration of the condition of the serfs, to whom was applied the legislation relating to the Roman slaves, all these ought to be regarded as the results of the new law.

Under such conditions, to restore the Christian spirit in all its might appeared, even in the eyes of mere statesmen, as the most pressing need. But how could Protestantism, divided and weakened, be given the cohesion and strength that it lacked? Among the men who were concerned with this regeneration, two currents of ideas developed. Some dreamed of rallying on a ground of common beliefs all the Reformed Churches and, if need be, the Catholic Church itself: their system was called syncretism. Others, giving up any hope of an agreement on a dogmatic formula, wondered whether it might not be possible to restore unity by the single means of an intensity of Christian life; they founded Pietism. The two movements eventually found their leaders. The extensive and syncretist movement

had its most illustrious representative in Leibnitz, and the intensive and Pietist movement had Spener as its apostle.

The syncretist movement is an old one in Protestantism. The syncretists of the seventeenth century, like those of our day, always appealed to the name of Melanchthon, who, in the Augsburg Confession, deluded himself with the hope of uniting in one faith both Catholics and Protestants. In the first half of the seventeenth century a professor of Helmstedt University, Calixt by name, took up Melanchthon's idea with greater precision and proposed a basis of Christian faith that would unite Lutherans, Calvinists, Greeks, and Catholics: it was the *Consensus quinquesaecularis*, or symbol of the councils of the first five centuries. In 1646 he wrote: "I do not wish to conceal the fact that for many years I have had at heart the ecclesiastical concord; I have thought that by this concord the Church would be led back to its ancient state, and that the general commonwealth of the Christian world could be saved from death."¹

Such words, frequently repeated before large audiences in that Helmstedt University, which in 1630 counted more than 16,000 students, did not remain fruitless.² But this doctrine was vigorously opposed by the theologians of Lutheranism, who charged Calixt with "crypto-Calvinism." Syncretism persisted scarcely anywhere except in the University, where it had been officially taught. A disciple of Calixt, one Molanus, a Protestant pastor, whom Duke John Frederick of Brunswick had appointed president of the consistory of his capital, became its defender. From 1674 to 1694 "a tentative religious union, which has not yet been the object of historical research, stirred official Germany under the impulse of the bishop of Neustadt, Christopher Royas, of the Spinola family."³

Of a sudden the question entered a new phase and assumed

¹ Henke, *Die Universität Helmstädt*, I, 3.

² Baruzi, *Leibniz et l'organisation religieuse de la terre*, p. 258.

³ Baruzi, *Leibniz*, in the collection *Pensée chrétienne*, p. 36.

great importance when, in December, 1676, a young philosopher, summoned by Duke John Frederick, arrived in the city of Hanover. His fame had already spread over Europe.⁴ It was William Leibnitz.

The Duke, recently converted to Catholicism,⁵ had to govern Protestants. This duty was full of difficulties and was a matter of continual concern to the ruler. Since 1667 an Italian priest named Maccioni, entrusted with the direction of religious affairs, had labored at the preparation of a restoration of Catholicism in Hanover. But his efforts, often indiscreet, aroused vigorous protests. At his death (August, 1676) many converts returned to Protestantism. John Frederick dreamed of a work of pacification. No one was more disposed to second him in that work than Leibnitz, still much impressed from his conversations with Malebranche, Spinoza, the "Great Arnauld," Father de la Chaise, the learned Huet, and the famous Huygens. At Paris, at London, at The Hague, he had associated, without discrimination, with Protestants and Catholics, with the Jesuits and the men of Port Royal. Everything seemed to increase his enthusiasm for this question of the union of the Christian Churches. Leibnitz, one of the most representative geniuses that positive and dreamy Germany has produced,⁶ enamored alike of minute analyses and of grandiose syntheses, seemed organized for the attempt to resolve into unity all the superficial oppositions⁷ and to see everything in large perspective. At the time when he appeared, the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries had opened almost infinite perspectives to a world that was still agitated by the Renaissance ideas. The notion of a world transformation, in the religious order as well as in the political order,

⁴ "He returned to Germany, enveloped in one of those grandiose legends that hide an indiscreet curiosity" (Baruzi, *op. cit.*, p. 25).

⁵ He abjured Protestantism in 1651.

⁶ He was born June 21, 1646, at Leipzig. His family was of Slav origin. Cf. Tan-nery, art. "Leibniz" in the *Grande Encyclopédie*.

⁷ Cf. Baruzi, *Leibniz et l'organisation religieuse de la terre*, p. 238.

captivated this powerful mind. He thought of a broadened and renovated Christianity. In his early youth, in his father's library where he browsed at pleasure, his encyclopedic tastes were awakened. As he himself said, he took pleasure in the writings of Calixt.⁸ His conversations with Molanus, Spinola, and Duke John Frederick fixed his attention on the problem that Calixt had proposed. His interviews with the diplomats soon convinced him that the desire of the Duke of Brunswick was shared by most of the rulers of Germany.⁹

When asked by the Duke of Hanover to begin the work, Leibnitz undertook to get in touch with some Catholic personages of authority. Among his correspondents the principal ones were Pellisson, a convert from Protestantism since 1670, the Abbess of Maubuisson, and especially Bossuet, the bishop of Meaux.

The controversy between Bishop Spinola and the Protestant pastor Molanus, so far as we can judge from the few available documents, did not go beyond some equivocal generalities. These referred to three points: an agreement or understanding on a few easy questions, reservation to a future council of difficult questions, and meanwhile intercommunion of the different faiths through submission to the infallible authority of the Church represented by a council. But a fundamental question remained in suspense: how the future council should be composed. Should Protestants be admitted to it? Would it be authorized to review the decisions of the Council of Trent?

But these were precisely the questions that, from the outset of his discussions, Leibnitz seemed to ignore or at least to attempt avoiding at any price. The representative of John Frederick strove to find a basis of agreement in another direc-

⁸ "When scarcely more than a child I used to browse at will in my father's library. . . . I took much pleasure in the writings of Calixtus" (quoted by Baruzi, *op. cit.*, p. 191).

⁹ Almost every page of the Treaty of Westphalia shows the desire for the union. See particularly the Treaty of Osnabrück, Art. V, nos. 14, 24, 48.

tion. He held that it was derived from tradition. He wrote: "God does not refuse His grace to those who do what they can."¹⁰ This maxim is common to the theologians. . . . Moreover, certainly the theologians commonly distinguish between material heretics and formal heretics; the latter they condemn, but not the former."¹¹ "But a Protestant who, mistaken about the fact, does not believe that the Council of Trent was ecumenical, would be only a material heretic."¹²

It was to Pellisson that Leibnitz wrote these lines. Pellisson was one of the most charming men of his time. He was twenty years older than the philosopher of Hanover. His four-years imprisonment in the Bastille had been for him an occasion for prolonged meditation on the loftiest questions of religion. From this experience he kept a sober and austere piety which, however, in no way changed the amiable qualities of his character. On his return to the court, he resumed his former polished manners, which delighted those about him. The exquisite tone of his first letters charmed the German philosopher.¹³ In a most gracious manner, Pellisson had consented to pursue the discussion on the grounds which the philosopher prepared for him. He wrote: "It is not by the authority of the Council of Trent that we urge the Protestants to become Catholics, but by the authority of all the Catholic Churches, which constitute only one."¹⁴

Of course; but to argue thus was, with a view of not offending Leibnitz and the Protestants, merely to push the difficulty further back. For would they grant that the Council of Trent represented all the "Catholic Churches"? And what was to be understood by those two words? The discussion continued.

¹⁰ *Facienti quod in se est Deus non denegat gratiam*. Letter to John Frederick (1677), published by Stein, *Leibniz und Spinoza*, p. 300.

¹¹ Leibniz, *Œuvres* (Foucher de Careil ed.), I, 127.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

Other personages entered into it. The abbess of Maubuisson, Louise Hollandine, sister of the Palatine Anne of Gonzaga, that famous princess herself, then the spiritual Madame de Brinon, long the confidante of Madame de Maintenon at Saint Cyr; lastly, the queen of "learned" ladies, Mlle de Scudéry.¹⁵

Such are the surprising figures we meet along with Pellisson in this correspondence undertaken for the union of the Churches. In it we feel the weakening of Leibnitz' genius. The Duke de Broglie says: "A tone of playful affectation, an ill-timed display of literary and philosophical subtlety, the pleasure of carrying on a discussion rather than a desire to reach a conclusion, are unfortunately only too evident in all that came from his pen during this second period. You might say that he relished the prolongation of a situation which procured for him such flattering advances and which, without committing him to anyone, deluded him with fine compliments." ¹⁶

But of a sudden the intervention of a new correspondent altered the character of the discussion and, as with a breath, upset the scaffold of the combinations imagined by Leibnitz and his amiable controversialists. Did they, or did they not, accept the Council of Trent? Leibnitz was told: "No hope for the reunion exists so long as Trent's discussions on faith are regarded as in suspense. Therefore some declarations conformable to the decrees of the Council must be fixed upon . . . or another time or other dispositions on the part of the Protestants must be awaited." ¹⁷ He who spoke thus was the Bishop of Meaux. He had, in fact, not been a stranger to the preceding controversies. Madame de Brinon, the most active and most serious leader of the little feminine congress, had communicated to him several important documents of the affair.

The great Bishop waited for the opportune moment to let fall

¹⁵ De Broglie in the *Correspondant*, LI, 230.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Leibniz, *op. cit.*, II, 501. The date of the letter is June 25, 1693.

from his pen the terrible dilemma, with the full weight of his genius and from the height of his episcopal office. Leibnitz, not accustomed to being treated so frankly, could not suppress a feeling of surprise and vexation. He complained "of the haughtiness of the Bishop of Meaux," "of the attitude of superiority that eloquence and authority give to great men."¹⁸ Soon, with incomparable suavity, he tried to resume, under various forms, the two arguments on which his whole dialectic rested: that the Council of Trent represented the Church, is not certain; even if the Council of Trent has the authority which Rome gives it, the Protestants refuse it this authority in good faith and with sincerity of heart. He wrote: "The reasons of our persuasions are of two kinds: some are explicable, the others inexplicable. Those I call explicable can be proposed to other persons by a distinct process of reasoning; but the inexplicable reasons consist solely in our conscience or perception, and in an experience of inward feeling into which we cannot make others enter."¹⁹ Bossuet refused to enter into a consideration of these psychological questions. It is a fact, he replied, that the Council of Trent is accepted by all Catholics. "On this point full accord is found in France and in Germany, as also in Italy and in Spain: this unanimous agreement establishes the undeniable reception of the Council in all that concerns the faith." What purpose is served by alleging the good faith of the Protestants in their resistance to the Council? This good faith can make them excusable in the eyes of God; it does not open for them the gates of the visible Church.

During an interval of three years (1693-96), when we may say that Bossuet is tired of making the same reply to the tireless argumentation of his opponent, Leibnitz continued the discussion with Madame de Brinon alone. Perhaps nowhere else did he put more of his soul or better reveal the depth of his complex

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 127-35.

thought, in which objective diplomacy is so often mingled with subjective religious concern. He does not hide from Madame de Brinon any of his grievances against Catholicism. She, on her side, makes no attempt to conceal the anxiety she feels for the salvation of the Protestants. They exhort each other. She begs him to give himself a month of reflection in solitude and recollection. He eludes the suggestion by replying: "What is a month, Madame, compared with the many years I have employed in this endeavor since the age of twenty-two?" ²⁰

But Leibnitz was a philosopher besides being a diplomat. While he was opening his soul to Madame de Brinon and was carrying on his discussion with Bossuet, he resorted to measures of expediency which were "artifices of a double loyalty." ²¹ The first was to conclude negotiations with Louis XIV over the head of the Bishop of Meaux; the second was the publication, under the name and appearances of a Catholic scholar, of a study in which, proceeding from thoroughly orthodox principles, he advanced to the most extreme concessions. The book appeared under the title of *Judicium doctoris catholici*. But Louis XIV, an old man, worn out with these religious disputes, thought he would do well to communicate to Bossuet himself the propositions advanced by the philosopher of Hanover. And there the matter rested. Some conferences likewise undertaken by Leibnitz with various leaders of the Protestant Churches had no further results, in spite of the activity of William of Orange, who declared that he had decided "to give all his attention to this work." ²²

Such an undertaking ill accorded with that which aimed at a union between Protestants and Catholics, for that very William of Orange wrote: "Our whole right in Great Britain is in the exclusion and detestation of the Roman religion." An accord

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 24, 85.

²¹ *Correspondant*, LI, 235.

²² Baruzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-52.

based on a community of hatred was sure to be unstable and barren. Both undertakings of Leibnitz failed. In 1701 people no longer talked of either of them. The philosopher and diplomat seemed even to fear the resumption of a project of union with the Catholics. "All the rights of the house of Hanover," he wrote, "are based solely on the hatred and exclusion of the Catholic Church: therefore everything must be avoided that would indicate only slight zeal against the Romanists." The cares of the statesman, always mingled in him with the cares of the man of religion, at length supplanted the latter. Therein especially must be sought the cause of the failure of a negotiation conducted by two men of genius, rather than in the haughty tone of the Bishop of Meaux. Moreover, perhaps it is chimerical to count on general movements for a return to religious unity. History shows us many apostasies en masse, but very few collective conversions.

Pietism

At the time when these projects of union were under way, a certain number of Protestants, concerned over the future of their Churches and over the safeguarding of the Christian spirit, thought they had found the final form of their beliefs in Pietism. The chief representative of the pietist movement at the end of the seventeenth century was Jacob Spener, whose name deserves an important place in the religious history of Germany. In the words of Franz Werner, "Modern Protestant Germany, so far as it rests on supernatural foundations, is marked with the intellectual seal of Spener more than that of Luther."²⁸

In its basis and primary inspiration, the pietist movement, like the syncretist movement, goes back to the very origins of Protestantism. Whereas the syncretists always appealed to the

²⁸ Werner, art. "Spener" in *Kirchenlexikon*.

authority of Melanchthon, the Pietists claimed that of the name of Schwenkfeld. As the theories of Melanchthon had been developed at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Calixt, those of Schwenkfeld were taken up again at that same time by Johann Arndt, whose ideas would exercise a determinant influence on Jacob Spener. Arndt, a tender and mystic soul, from his youth was nourished on the *Imitation of Christ*, and on the works of St. Bernard and Tauler. In 1606 and 1608 appeared his important work, *Wahren Christenthum* ("True Christianity").²⁴ In four books, entitled *The Book of Scripture*, *The Book of Life*, *The Book of Conscience*, and *The Book of Nature*, he glorified the life of prayer, the pardon of offenses, the hatred for sin, the practical love of neighbor, the spirit of humility and poverty, forgetfulness of self, and complete abandonment to the will of God.²⁵ His language was simple, pithy, full of unction. All that he said on these subjects was almost entirely Catholic. He even advised external worship. "For God to be aroused," he said, "He has no need of our calls; but man, indolent and lax, needs to be led to the thought of God by external worship." Johann Arndt's whole mysticism rested on the Lutheran doctrine of justification.²⁶

He put Luther in the same rank as the Fathers of the Church and the apostles.²⁷ But, as he did not insult the Roman Church and as he broke with Protestant Scholasticism, the orthodox Lutherans heaped abuse on him. Osiander spoke of his writings as containing "the most monstrous mixture of papist, Manichæan, Pelagian, and Calvinist heresies." According to Osiander, Arndt "had written at the dictation of Satan; he had drunk the infected and foul water where the papists slaked their thirst." These attacks did not prevent the success of the book.

²⁴ *Wahren Christenthum*. Translated under the title *True Christianity*.

²⁵ Janssen, *L'Allemagne et la Réforme*, VII, 656.

²⁶ For his explicit declarations, see *True Christianity*, I, xxix; Bk. I, chaps. 5, 19, 34, 41; Bk. II, chaps. 1, 2, 3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 300 (Bk. I, chap. 39).

No human writing, if we except the *Imitation*, has been reprinted more often than Arndt's *True Christianity*.²⁸ A Latin translation, printed in 1687 without any author's name, spread in this form among Catholics.

Jacob Spener (1635-1705)

The agitations and disturbances brought on by the Thirty Years' War put a stop to the surge of the pietist movement. But after the Peace of Westphalia, a man who combined the tender piety of a mystic and the organizing genius of a statesman gave it a fresh impulse. His name was Philip Jacob Spener. He was born in 1635 at Rappoltsweiler in Alsace, was brought up in the family of Count von Rappolstein, where his father was tutor. There he received lessons from the most distinguished teachers of his time, among others the famous Hebraist Buxtorf. His extensive acquaintance with literature, philosophy, theology, and Oriental languages seemed to destine him for one of the highest posts in the teaching of the universities. His special competence in the science of heraldry and genealogy brought him into relation with the greatest nobility of Germany.

But the profound impression made on his religious soul by the death of his benefactress, Countess von Rappolstein, and then, shortly after, the reading of the sermons of Tauler and especially his reading of Arndt's *True Christianity*, finally turned him toward piety. Appointed chief pastor at Frankfort-on-Main, he devoted himself wholly to the apostolate of the poor, visiting their homes, preaching the gospel to them, appeal to the lords for a mitigation of their wretchedness. Soon he acquired a remarkable influence among the people. His doctrines did not appreciably differ from those of Arndt. But, better than his predecessors, he understood the need of organizing the

²⁸ Mangenot, art. "Arndt" in *Dict. de théol.*

religious life. From the outset of his apostolate, he started catechism classes to prepare the faithful for the reception of confirmation, and pious societies for the laity and for the pastors. His complete plan for organization was not revealed until 1675 by the publication of his *Pia desideria*.²⁹

The principal aims of the celebrated pietist pastor were the following: the organization of a simple instruction in accordance with a short catechism, in the form of questions and answers;³⁰ the diffusion of the works of Thomas a Kempis, Tauler, and the *German Theology*; the abandonment of scholastic and rational theology; the formation of a body of well prepared pastors, some of whom would cultivate high philosophy, whereas the others would preach with apostolic simplicity; lastly, the foundation of special associations, called *Collegia pietatis*, for the laity, and *Collegia philobiblica* for the clergy. Spener's book had a prodigious success. Germany became covered with *Collegia pietatis*. But the official doctors of Lutheranism were no gentler with him than they had been with his precursor, Johann Arndt. His refusal to condemn the writings of Jacob Boehme and to disavow the manner of life of the latter's followers drew down upon him the almost unanimous disapproval of the theologians. He had to flee from Frankfort to Strasbourg, from Strasbourg to Dresden, and from Dresden to Berlin, where he died in 1705, convinced of the near approach of the kingdom of God. Modern Protestants regard him as "the Father of Pietism,"³¹ and Catholics recognize in him "one of the noblest and purest characters that Protestantism has produced."³²

Pietism declined after Spener's death. Two of his disciples,

²⁹ Spener's *Pia desideria* appeared first in 1675 as a preface to Arndt's *Wahren Christenthum*; in 1678 it was published separately at Paris.

³⁰ In 1677 he himself published a little catechism, which he called *Simple Explanation of Christian Doctrine*.

³¹ Bonifas, *Hist. des dogmes de l'Eglise chrétienne*, p. 491.

³² Werner, art. "Spener" in *Kirchenlexikon*.

Christian Hochman and Gerhard Tersteegen, tried to continue his work in the same spirit. Their personal influence on the people was considerable. Hochman preached most often in the open air, in the fields, and "when he spoke," say the contemporary reports, "his hearers thought they saw the aurora of eternity rising." ³³ Tersteegen led the life of a poor man; from him we have some touching prayers. But a third disciple, Dippel by name, discredited the master's doctrine by his ridiculous behavior and his questionable morals. The people, who had called the followers of Hochman "fine fasters," called the followers of Dippel "fine feasters."

The eighteenth century witnessed the complete decline of Pietism in Germany. Impelled to rally about a doctrine, the Pietists divided into three schools: that of Samuel Collenbrusch, who tried to subordinate dogma to religious practice and succeeded in ruining the Lutheran doctrine bit by bit; the school of Kohlbrugge, who attempted to subordinate religious practice to the Lutheran dogma of justification by faith alone and succeeded merely in discouraging piety. A third school, that founded by the curious visionary Elias Eller, led to the most grotesque and tragic scenes.

Pietism spread in different parts of Europe and America with numerous ramifications. With Emmanuel Zinzendorf, the founder of the Moravian Brethren, it reached even Greenland and Labrador; with John Wesley, the father of the Methodists, it became established especially in England; with Swedenborg it reached America and won many followers in Sweden and in Russia, where the famous Baroness von Kruedener, who exercised considerable influence on Emperor Alexander and on the Holy Alliance, became the ardent apostle of its doctrines. In spite of everything, Pietism would be perpetuated in the German people. Its influence on the mind of Kant is well known.

³³ Philipps and Goerres, *Historich politische Blaetter*, XLII, 25.

Leibnitz and Spener made great efforts to reconstruct the religious unity of Protestantism. The failure of this attempt encouraged the rationalist movement. Leibnitz' chief disciple, Wolff, stressed the naturalist tendency of his master. Kautzen, a Lutheran theologian, held that the Bible ought to be replaced by conscience. Semler, Mendelssohn, Lessing, and Herder went even farther in the same direction. We have no right to say that the rationalist current of the eighteenth century belongs strictly to France. German Protestantism contributed a considerable affluent to this current.

Protestantism in England

By various routes English Protestantism gave rise to a similar result. A man of deep mind, or at least of amazing political cleverness, would break up the Anglican Church such as it had been established by the long efforts of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. But the Puritan Reformation of Oliver Cromwell would in turn collapse and leave, on the soil of the United Kingdom, only a division of sects, some having the character of dubious illuminism, the others of a disturbing rationalism, both of them alongside a mysterious society that would become their powerful auxiliary.

In 1648, at the time when the Treaty of Westphalia was concluded, Great Britain, not a party to this treaty, was both powerful and very disturbed. By her strong administrative and financial organization, which she owed to Queen Elizabeth, by the expansion of her frontiers, which now embraced Scotland, and by the number and importance of her colonies, England took her place in the front rank of European powers. The United Kingdom—so called after the annexation of Scotland—was, of all the European states, the one that could most confidently, in the face of foreign powers, count on the loyalty of all its citizens.

Charles I

However, since the middle of the seventeenth century, the internal dissensions, political and religious, were such as might presage a revolution. Charles I, then reigning, was not altogether that "just, moderate, and magnanimous king," with no fault except clemency, whose portrait Bossuet traced with an embellishment of eloquence, at the time when a great misfortune brought that monarch much respect. The successor of James I was, indeed, not without moral and intellectual qualities that commanded esteem, and the noble attitude with which he died showed the fundamental loftiness of his soul. But, through a false principle of government or a weakness of character, he made the mistake of carrying the exercise of absolute power to arbitrary extremes and of carrying diplomacy to the point of duplicity. One day in the House of Commons, Cromwell, without arousing the indignation of his hearers, declared that the king was intelligent, but the most persistent of liars. Married to a Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria of France, daughter of Henry IV, he was said to have endeavored to win acceptance for this marriage by persecution of the Queen's coreligionists.

Two facts of James I's reign had already aggravated the situation of the Catholics: the oath of allegiance had divided them, and the Gunpowder Plot had, in the cleverly prepared public mind, attributed to them the crime of a few isolated gentlemen. Under Charles I, during the long strifes between the authority of the king and that of the Parliament, between the Established Church and the Puritan Church, the Catholics received blows from both sides at once and were the target of political schemes of the one and the fanaticism of the other. The severest of their trials came from the oath against transubstantiation, which the King, always concerned with effacing the impression produced by his Catholic marriage, imposed on

them under penalty of the confiscation of two-thirds of their property. However, their attitude was admirable. The Catholics had never been sparing in their testimonies of loyalty to the king's authority. In the war declared by Parliament, they resolutely took their stand on the side of the traditional monarchy. This loyal policy was fatal for them. After the King's defeat, they were naturally reckoned among the foes of the new order of things and were treated with new rigors.

Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658)

The man who assumed the direction of the English government after the death of Charles I was Oliver Cromwell. Should we regard him as a sort of hero, soaring above other men by the prodigy of his genius and of his will, as Thomas Carlyle would have us believe?³⁴ Should we not rather, in agreement with David Hume,³⁵ consider him a fiery fanatic? Recently a certain writer has maintained that he was in all respects a mediocre statesman, and that merely the events made him appear great.³⁶ Should we accept as final Bossuet's judgment, that Cromwell was "a moving and daring spirit who seems to have been born to change the world" and that he was "an accomplished hypocrite as well as a clever politician"? We cannot in a brief summary express all the aspects of that complex and unhealthy nature, such as it appears to us in the latest historical inquiries.³⁷

Cromwell was born in 1599, of a country gentleman, on the bank of the Ouse River, not far from Cambridge, in a region where prophets and visionaries were not rare. He belonged to

³⁴ Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes and Hero Worship*.

³⁵ Hume, *History of England*, year 1658.

³⁶ Filon in *Revue des Deux Mondes* (November 15, 1902) and *Journal des Débats* (November 26, 1902). "Olivier is not a man of genius; he is not even a man of superior talent." (Filon, *Journal des Débats*, *loc. cit.*).

³⁷ John Morley, *Oliver Cromwell*. Cf. art. "Cromwell" in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

the family of that Thomas Cromwell, first Lord Essex and minister of Henry VIII, who contributed so much to the establishment of Episcopalianism in England and the absolute power of royalty. These two institutions were precisely the ones against which Oliver Cromwell would direct all his strength. His early education seems to have been limited almost entirely to the reading of the Bible and to hearing Evangelical sermons. The somewhat crude literary style of his correspondence ³⁸ indicates the incomplete character of his education.

At the age of twenty, following some youthful fault, a sudden change toward austerity took place in him. The fear of God, the dread of hell, then the feeling of grace, the assurance of salvation, the fixed idea of holiness, a holiness of which he thenceforth became the ideal according to his own experience, and which later he wished to impose on all who came in contact with him: such were the feelings that determined and accompanied what he called his conversion.

In 1628, when he was barely twenty-nine years old, he appeared in Parliament, a man careless about his clothes, with an enormous head, broad shoulders, and fiery countenance. By his rustic manners and by his features, now jovial and now surly, he was quite at variance with the brilliant knights trained at the sumptuous court of Queen Elizabeth. He was a poor speaker. But when he was shaken by violent feeling, his voice, habitually low and shrill, became thundering and impassioned.³⁹ The prestige of his name, which Protestant England had not forgotten, was added to that of his words. As his ideas were simple in their expression and radical in their tendency, he soon became the head of a party. His aim was the triumph of real Protestantism, of that which Luther had sketched and which Calvin and Fox had perfected. Between Christ and the indi-

³⁸ Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*.

³⁹ Sir Philips Warwick, in his *Memoirs*, relates the impression made on him by Cromwell in Parliament.

vidual man, no intermediaries: this is the fundamental principle that he took from Luther.

Moreover, in the work of justification and salvation which Christ operates in man, grace must be regarded as something felt and impossible to be lost, as Fox and Calvin taught. The man who is justified and assured of his justification, is the saint. The saint must triumph. Force cannot be better employed than in fighting for holiness. But the great force is the army. A religion organized in a military way; an army marching, obeying, and maneuvering at a religious command: that was Cromwell's ideal. One of his contemporaries describes the army assembled by the celebrated agitator to fight Charles I. He says: "Sometimes these soldiers come to a halt to hear a sermon; sometimes they sing psalms while drilling. Some captains were heard to cry out: 'Take aim. Fire. In the name of the Lord.' Each roll of the drum had a biblical name. An officer said: Drum St. Matthew's call to arms; or the general call of the Apocalypse."

Such was the army that became Cromwell's instrument to overthrow the kingship of Charles I in England, then to establish his own dictatorship there, to organize it and defend it. Between Luther—the mystical Protestant, whose ambition was limited to reforming the Church—and Jean Jacques Rousseau—the social Protestant, whose aim was nothing less than the transformation of society—Cromwell was the political Protestant, whose ideas were translated into governmental institutions.

We must recognize that the events served the strange fortune of this man. The English Church of Henry VIII—that Catholicism without a pope and subject to a king—successively undermined by Lutheran infiltrations, broke up under the influence of an internal logic. They began by saying: No pope. They ended by saying: No priest. Moreover, public opinion, seeing the reaction, had been so long wearied with the

pomp of pretentious cavaliers, with their big plumes and long swords, that it turned agreeably to these austere Puritans, who marched wearing somber cloaks, a Bible in their hand. The King's policy of expediency was driving him more and more to arbitrary measures and was making his absolute power odious. The religious authority, like the political authority, seemed to offer itself to anyone who would have a strong enough hand and a great enough daring to seize it. Cromwell, backed by his Puritan army, had that daring and that strength.

We know how, on December 6 and 7, 1648, took place the purge of the English Parliament. An officer of Cromwell's army, stationed at the door of the House of Commons, with a proscription list in his hand, informed eighty members of the Parliament of their exclusion. The minority remaining, trembling and docile, voted the charges against the King. Charles, convicted by a so-called court of justice, met his death on January 30, 1649, with such nobility that history is tempted to forget the faults of his life. A few days later the abolition of the kingship and of the peerage was proclaimed. England became a republic, and Cromwell, with the title of Protector, became its all-powerful dictator.

Cromwell's Government

Cromwell made use of his unlimited power to impose his ideal. He said that the saints, meaning his friends the Puritans, were destined to govern the world; everyone must be subject to the saints. But, to assure the supremacy of the saints, first papism, Episcopalianism, and Presbyterianism must be crushed. This task the clever party chief set out to accomplish at the beginning of his political career, and he proceeded to execute it with a knowing and calculated method. The destruction of "papism" was the first of these aims. The mere word "papism" had something magical about it and inflamed the

passions of the English Protestants. From the time that Oliver Cromwell acquired the preponderance in the deliberations of the Parliament,

scarcely a day occurred in which some order of ordinance, local or general, was not issued by the two houses; and very few of these, even on the most indifferent subjects, were permitted to pass without the assertion that the war had been originally provoked and was still continued by the papists, for the sole purpose of the establishment of popery on the ruins of Protestantism. The constant repetition acted on the minds of the people as a sufficient proof of the charge; and the denials, the protestations, the appeals to heaven made by the King, were disregarded and condemned as unworthy artifices, adopted to deceive the credulous and unwary. Under such circumstances, the Catholics found themselves exposed to insult and persecution wherever the influence of the Parliament extended.⁴⁰

The ruin of the Episcopalian Church was the second aim pursued by the tireless agitator. He took advantage of the irritation aroused among the people by the rigorous sanctions which certain prelates employed, and he profited by the scandal which their excessive luxury provoked. In Parliament he directed a campaign of speeches and of all kinds of publications against the episcopate. A commission, presided over by a military officer, the Count of Manchester, was charged with "purifying" the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In Cambridge University alone the number of exclusions rose to two hundred. Several, through fear, resigned from their position.⁴¹

The Presbyterians remained to be dealt with. More formidable because of the connections they had in the popular masses, but compromised in the regime that was crumbling bit by bit, they had allied themselves with the Independent Puritans in the struggle which the latter had just been sustain-

⁴⁰ John Lingard, *History of England* (10 vol. ed.), VIII, 70.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

ing against the royalty, papism, and Episcopalianism. Moreover, they prevailed over the Independents by their number and social authority. "They possessed an overwhelming majority in the assembly, the senate, the city, and the army; the solemn league and covenant had enlisted the whole Scottish nation in their cause."⁴² Cromwell faced the difficulties of the strife and was not discouraged. After all, the Independents, the "saints," had on their side, besides their claim to divine right to govern the world, the energy that is derived from absolute confidence in a cause and in a leader.

They never exceeded a dozen in the assembly; but these were veteran disputants, eager, fearless, and persevering, whose attachment to their favorite doctrines had been riveted by persecution and exile. . . . The very nature of the contest between the king and the parliament was calculated to predispose the mind in favour of their principles. It taught men to distrust the claims of authority, to exercise their own judgment on matters of the highest interest, and to spurn the fetters of intellectual as well as of political thralldom. In a short time the Independents were joined by the Antinomians, Anabaptists, Millenarians, Erastians, and the members of many ephemeral sects, whose very names are now forgotten.⁴³

By the aid of this party Cromwell made his assault on the Presbyterian Church; with it he invaded Ireland and Scotland. Surrounded by this restless, daring, and revolutionary party, he made his greatest conquests.

But, like Luther, Cromwell soon made acquaintance with the humiliation of revolutionary leaders, when, after releasing the passions of their followers, they see themselves reduced to the necessity of fighting their former most ardent friends and of putting their reliance on their former enemies.

The heat of the battle had notably contributed to turning the Puritan party toward the most radical doctrines. Within it a

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

sect was formed, which took the name of Levellers. Lilburn, a demagogue and pamphleteer, had preached community of goods, hatred of the rich, the abolition of all political and religious hierarchy; his arrest stirred up the mass of the people in his favor. Cromwell saw the danger. Lilburn was released; but the Protector crushed pitilessly, in his army, every chief that he suspected of sharing the ideas of the Levellers. We then see him make up to the Presbyterians and promise them his protection. We see him careful not to alienate the various sects of the Illuminated. We see him especially relying on the Jews, whose power was real though hidden. The Jews had been legally expelled from England in 1290 by Edward I. That ordinance had never been revoked. The Protector authorized the Jews to filter back again quietly into England. Soon they filled the commerce and the administration. A contemporary annalist says that soon you might see Cromwell, while conversing with some lord, suddenly break off the conversation to receive a shabby old man who was asking to speak to him. It was a Jew, who had come with a bit of news, some secret of his enemies or of foreign powers.⁴⁴

Cromwell's ambition was never limited to making Puritanism triumph in England. What the saints were predestined to was the government of the world. This is not the place to show how, in foreign policy, he carried the same fanatical and tricky spirit which had assured his triumph in Great Britain. Finally, almost all the monarchies, in spite of the repulsion which a regicide must have inspired in them, rallied to his rule. The Dutch, overcome by him, promised never to give asylum to the Stuarts. Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, concluded treaties of commerce and navigation with him. The King of France and the King of Spain, who were so closely united to the family of the Stuarts by ties of blood, vied with each other for an alliance with Cromwell. What is especially noteworthy, is that in most of these

⁴⁴ Guizot, *Histoire de la République d'Angleterre* (2nd ed.), II, 154.

negotiations the idea of religious propaganda was uppermost in the Protector's mind. When he declared for the French alliance in preference to the Spanish alliance, his purpose was not merely to profit by the maritime decadence of Spain, but, as we may well surmise, also to follow the traditional English hatred for the country of the Inquisition and of the Armada. To the same Protestant zeal may be attributed Cromwell's support of the Vaudois against the Duke of Savoy. Even into the depths of Transylvania the hand of Cromwell protected Protestantism. Elizabeth's policy lived again, enlarged and triumphant.

In the midst of this triumph the Protector expired. He died September 3, 1658, not of gall stones, as Pascal says, but of a fever. Says Hume:

At length the fever increased, and he himself began to entertain some thoughts of death, and to cast his eye towards that future existence, whose idea had once been intimately present to him; though since, in the hurry of affairs and the shock of wars and factions, it had, no doubt, been considerably obliterated. He asked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never fall or suffer a final reprobation. "Nothing more certain," replied the preacher. "Then I am safe," said the protector; "for I am sure that once I was in a state of grace." ⁴⁵

Charles II (1630-85)

Until William of Orange, England did not see a statesman comparable to Oliver Cromwell. But the Church experienced the most extreme vicissitudes. The government of Cromwell's oldest son, Richard, was insignificant in its character and in its duration, which was less than two years. At his death, England fell into anarchy. General Monk, governor of Scotland, took advantage of the conditions to bring to London, without firing a shot, the pretender Charles Stuart, son of Charles I, who took the name of Charles II.

⁴⁵ Hume, *History of England*, V, 485 (year 1658).

Although a Protestant, the new King was married to a Catholic princess of the house of Braganza, a cousin of Louis XIV. Until his coming to the throne he had been backed by the Catholic party⁴⁶ and, during his residence in France, he enjoyed close relations with several venerated members of the clergy.⁴⁷ These circumstances gave reason to expect that he would be favorable to Catholicism. This hope was soon deceived. Charles II presently showed that he was one of the most shameless libertines of his time. The party of the Cavaliers, which, since the death of Elizabeth, had been supplanted by the party of the Puritans, gathered round a sovereign whose elegant and dissolute manner of life agreed well with their own tendencies. In consequence of the discredit of Puritanism, Anglicanism triumphed. In 1662 the King published the Act of Uniformity by virtue of which two thousand Nonconformist pastors were driven from their posts. In 1665 the Five Mile Act aggravated the persecution: refractory pastors were forbidden to come within five miles of a corporate borough, and were thus effectively prevented from returning to their former parishes.

But the storm soon turned more particularly against the Catholics. In 1672 the King, by virtue of his prerogatives, without consulting Parliament, published a Declaration of Indulgence, which suspended the execution of the penal laws enacted against the Nonconformists. This royal edict has been regarded as a measure in favor of the Catholics, an effect of the alliance between the Stuart king and the Bourbon king. Men's minds were stirred; the hatred for "papism" redoubled. The alleged misdeeds of the Catholics were recalled. In September 1666, an accidental fire had destroyed a considerable part of London. By means of the most absurd accounts, the enemies of the Catholics

⁴⁶ "Charles II, in his flight after the battle of Worcester, saw fifty-eight Catholics vow their head to the scaffold to save his" (Destombes, *Histoire de la persécution religieuse sous les successeurs d'Elisabeth*, p. 437).

⁴⁷ On the relations of Charles II to Father Olier, see Faillon, *Vie de M. Olier* (4th ed.), II, 323.

succeeded in convincing the people that the disaster was imputable to the Roman Church. "It was said and believed that men had been apprehended carrying with them parcels of an unknown substance, which on compression produced heat and flame; that others had been seen throwing fireballs into houses as they passed along the street; that the foreign enemy had combined with the republicans and papists to burn the city."⁴⁸ The repetition of these rumors added to the consternation. In 1673 the Parliament refused to vote the subsidies, having obtained the royal sanction for the Test Act. This measure made the denial of transubstantiation a necessary qualification for office.⁴⁹ The chief purpose of the Act was to exclude from all public office the Catholics and in particular the King's brother, James of York, who had just been publicly converted to the Roman faith.

Five years later (1678) an even more odious machination resulted in excluding the King's brother from the Privy Council and in obliging him to leave England. A certain person, Titus Oates, devoid of morals or of good repute, denounced to the Parliament an alleged Popish Plot. It was the strangest story that could come out of a disordered mind. The European monarchs, worked on by their Jesuit confessors, so the story went, had elaborated the project of conquering England so as to establish despotism there and to make it a vassal of the Holy See. Five thousand Catholics, concealed in London, agreed to set the city on fire a second time and to carry out a general massacre of the Protestants. The Jesuits and the Benedictines had reserved for themselves the job of slaying the King with silver bullets or with the dagger. Charles II did not believe a word of this fable; but the Parliament feigned to credit it, and the people reached a height of frenzy. Six Jesuits perished on the scaffold;

⁴⁸ Lingard, *op. cit.*, IX, 128.

⁴⁹ This was the fourth oath imposed on the Catholics of England. The four oaths were as follows: oath of supremacy, under Henry VIII; the oath of allegiance, under James I; the declaration against transubstantiation, under Charles I; the test oath, under Charles II.

the Catholic lords were expelled from Parliament by virtue of an Act that was not abrogated until 1829. A large number of Catholics were arrested and put to death by proceedings that violated every divine and human law.⁵⁰

Unfortunately the religious question was complicated by a political question. The Duke of York, brother of the King, heir presumptive to the throne, represented both Catholicism and absolute power. A party was formed that set up in opposition to him a natural son of the King, the Duke of Monmouth, and made of him the defender of Protestantism and of Parliamentary prerogatives. The members of Monmouth's party took the name of Whigs, previously given to Scottish bandits, while the Duke of York's partisans received the name of Tories, which designated in Ireland the proscribed papists. The violent conflicts of these two parties disturbed the last years of Charles II's reign. The King died February 6, 1685, after abjuring heresy and receiving the last sacraments. If, as we may hope, God did grant His grace, at that last hour, to this King who had been so complacent to heresy and impiety throughout his reign, to this man who had been so plunged in debauchery during his whole life, we cannot find in the course of the ages a more striking example of the divine mercy.

The regrettable mingling of politics in religious doctrines, which took place under Charles II, was unfortunately accentuated under the government of the Duke of York who, at his brother's death, became king of England under the name of James II.

James II (1633-1702)

As soon as James II took possession of his throne, he found that he must decide between the two great influences which, in England as well as on the Continent, were then in conflict: that of Pope Innocent XI and that of King Louis XIV. Innocent

⁵⁰ See the details in Lingard, *op. cit.*, IX, 381-87.

counseled James to use prudence in the protection of Catholicism and to respect the parliamentary liberties. On the other hand, Louis urged him to employ measures of religious reaction and to establish an absolute power. James II had the misfortune of following the advice of the King of France.

Macaulay, the Protestant English historian, expresses his opinion as follows :

The return of the English people to the fold of which he (Innocent) was the shepherd would undoubtedly have rejoiced his soul. But he was too wise a man to believe that a nation so bold and stubborn, could be brought back to the Church of Rome by the violent and unconstitutional exercise of royal authority. It was not difficult to foresee that, if James attempted to promote the interests of his religion by illegal and unpopular means, the attempt would fail. . . . On the other hand, it was probable that James, by acting with prudence and moderation, by strictly observing the laws and by exerting himself to win the confidence of his Parliament, might be able to obtain, for the professor of his religion, a large measure of relief.⁵¹

The Pope sent two messengers to England, the Italian Francesco d'Adda and the English Dominican John Leiburn. He charged these messengers to preach prudence by their sermons and by their example. Adda's dispatches testify to the political wisdom of the papal envoy. "In these dispatches Adda gives strong reasons for compromising matters by abolishing the penal laws and leaving the Test."⁵² He considered the conflict with Parliament a great misfortune; again and again he expresses his opinion, that the King could, by a constitutional policy, obtain a great deal in favor of the Catholics.

While Adda was advancing these arguments, the King was receiving quite different advice from Louis XIV. Prompted by the desire to have his doctrine of absolute power extend to England and to remove Great Britain from the coalition that was

⁵¹ Macaulay, *History of England* (5 vol. ed.), II, 52.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 329 note.

being formed against him in Europe, the King of France urged on the intense strife. He knew that England, if left to her natural impulse, would join the enemies of France. He also knew that, if James II should undertake seriously to establish the Catholic religion in England, that country, divided into political and religious factions, would count for nothing in the affairs of the Continent.⁵³ Louis could then easily have James II accept the vassalage in which he had been at such pains to hold Charles II.

Ill advised from the outset of his reign by a baleful counselor, Lord Sunderland, the King of England followed the line traced for him by the King of France. Not content with appointing Catholics to office and dispensing them from the Test Oath, he nominated Catholic priests to the benefices, had chapels opened contrary to the laws, planned to have Mass celebrated in Whitehall Palace in the presence of the Court, and to have the monks appear there in the habit of their order. The Jesuits were unpopular. But he confided to them colleges in London. He required the nuncio to assist at an official reception, dressed in his pontifical robes. By virtue of the right of supremacy, he revived an old institution of Elizabeth, and from this court obtained the suspension of the Bishop of London. All the English religious bodies, all the enemies of absolute power, uttered cries of horror against what they called Roman idolatry and tyranny.

The Pope's presentiments came true. The English people more and more identified in their mind Protestantism and civil liberty, papism and absolute power. Therein lies the whole secret of the rapid fall of the house of the Stuarts and the triumph of William of Orange.

William of Orange was a nephew of James II and husband of Mary, a daughter of James. For some time he had been preparing to dethrone his uncle and father-in-law. At the end of 1688 he judged that public opinion was ripe for a revolution. On

⁵³ Mazure, *Hist. de la Révolution de 1688*, II, 43.

November 5 he landed in England at the head of an army of 16,000 men, preceded by a flag bearing these words: "For religion and liberty." James II, abandoned by his most trusted supporters, withdrew to France, where Louis XIV gave him generous hospitality at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. There he died in 1702 in Christian sentiments of piety.

The policy of James II served as a pretext for all the vexatious measures that the houses of Orange and of Hanover exercised against the Catholics. Under William III a law was passed excluding all Catholics from the throne; under Queen Anne, some years after William's death, the famous Laws of Discovery against the Catholics of Ireland were promulgated; these laws restrained the civil rights of Catholics, declaring them incapable of acquiring landed property, of making a lease of more than thirty-one years, of lending on mortgage, and so on, and punishing the celebration of Mass by deportation, and, in case of repetition of the offense, by the gibbet.⁵⁴

However, these repressive measures did not profit the Established Church, which in 1676 included 95 per cent of the population, but which at this time did not count even half of England among its members.

Under George I, George II, and George III, a few independent sects developed prodigiously. Some were moved by a sincere desire, though a mistaken one, to attain real holiness: such were the sect of the Quakers, founded in the middle of the century by the shoemaker Fox,⁵⁵ and that of the Methodists, founded by John Wesley. Amid numerous extravagances and errors, they gave real examples of moral loftiness. Other sects, taking the name of Latitudinarians, sought to expand by reducing the

⁵⁴ A summary of these laws will be found in Chateaubriand, *The Genius of Christianity*, appendix: note UU, i.e., p. 758, "The Irish Massacre."

⁵⁵ The Quakers based the whole of Christianity on internal enlightenment, excluded the taking of oaths, the making of war, and even outward expressions of politeness. On the Quakers and their chief theologian, see articles "Quakers" and "Barclay" in *Kirchenlexikon*; Moehler, *Symbolism*, Part II, chap. 2. See also Algermissen, *Christian Denominations*, pp. 831-36. [Tr.]

number of dogmas and obligatory practices. They easily ended in unbelief. Then it was that Collins invented the name of "free-thought," and Toland that of "pantheism."

The government of the houses of Orange and of Hanover marked, along with a movement toward political liberties, a decline of religious beliefs. The evil was that public opinion, by associating these two things too closely together, distorted the notion of them. The famous Declaration of Rights (February 23, 1689), in which we may discover the general inspiration of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, revealed the ruinous notion of a political liberty independent of the religious idea. Contemporaries saw this. A certain philosopher says: "As all the political discussions of the sixteenth century had reform for their object, those of the next century became connected directly or indirectly with the English Revolution. Hobbes opposed it, Locke defended it; and on that same terrain Bossuet and Jurieu contended." ⁵⁶

Another element, destined to favor this evolution, appeared in England during this period. At the time of the strife between the Stuarts and the Parliament, and later between the Stuarts and the house of Orange or that of Hanover, the political parties had gathered about them certain corporations of building masons which, under the name of freemasons, drew up statutes for themselves and formed real social forces.⁵⁷ When the party of the Stuarts lost all credit, the Jacobite masonry and the Orangist masonry fused. But in losing its political character, the institution admitted, as a basis of understanding, some philosophical principles taken from the current ideas of the time.⁵⁸

England, like Germany, contributed largely to the movement that would agitate the end of the eighteenth century. In reality,

⁵⁶ Paul Janet, *Histoire de la science politique* (2nd ed.), II, 265.

⁵⁷ Gustave Bord, *La Franc-Maçonnerie en France*, I, 17, 50.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

the French Revolution was not merely a European revolution by the extent of the transformations it produced; it was also European by its deepest and most authentic sources.

Protestantism in France

By triumphing with the princes and by persecuting the Catholics, English Protestantism proceeded in big strides toward its two issues: illuminism and freethought. In undergoing an almost uninterrupted persecution, French Protestantism advanced along the same path and attained the same results. In England and in France, as likewise in Germany, the evolution of the pretended reform owed less to the outward circumstances in which it moved than to the very principles which it carried within itself.

The political situation brought about for the Protestant party by the Edict of Nantes, the concession of a right to keep certain strongholds, to hold assemblies, and to have at Court something like legates, merely incited their claims. We recall Turenne's reply to Catherine de Medici's remark that "the King wished only one religion in France." The Huguenot replied: "Madame, we also wish it; but we intend that it be ours." And the Protestants purposed to accomplish their end by all the means at the disposal of an organized state, including the use of armed force and foreign alliance. At the death of Henry IV, Duplessis-Mornay declared: "The King is a minor; let us be majors." On May 10, 1621, the Assembly of La Rochelle came to a bold decision, which went beyond the rights accorded by the Edict of Nantes.⁵⁹ The reformed France was divided into eight circles, an expression taken from the political establishment of Germany. Each circle would be under the government of one of the party chiefs. The superior authority was entrusted to the Duke de Bouillon. The governors were empowered to levy taxes,

⁵⁹ G. de Félice, *Hist. des protest. en France*, p. 240.

organize armies, engage in battles, appoint to offices. Three deputies of the Assembly should participate in the councils held by the commander-in-chief and by the military commandants. Lastly, the Assembly reserved to itself the power to conclude peace treaties.⁶⁰

Such a decision, while it openly violated legality, was equivalent to the proclamation of a Protestant republic and a declaration of war against the monarchy. True, the provinces that had been divided into circles did not unanimously answer the call of the Assembly. Picardy, Normandy, the district of Orléans, the Île-de-France, the Dauphiné, and Poitou refused to take up arms. The Duke de Bouillon declined the responsibility of commander-in-chief. In vain they turned to Maréchal de Lesdiguières, who was on the point of becoming a Catholic, to Marquis de la Force, who was fearful of becoming embroiled with the Court, to the Duke de Sully, who was growing old. In short, every effort was concentrated on Saintonge, Guyenne, Quercy, and the two provinces of Languedoc, under the conduct of the Duke de Soubise and his brother the Duke de Rohan, who decided to cast their whole fortune into a new war of religion.⁶¹

Two successive uprisings, terminated by peace treaties (August 10, 1622, and February 5, 1626), left no doubt about the political and revolutionary character of the movement and about the support it obtained from abroad. At the treaty of 1626 the English ambassadors intervened. "So long as the Huguenots have their feet in France," declared Richelieu, "the king will never be master within, and he will be unable to undertake any glorious action outside."⁶² The larger part of the Protestant forces had taken refuge at La Rochelle, the fortified city that was reputed to be impregnable. There, during the wars of religion, Condé, Coligny, Jeanne d'Albret, and Henry of Béarn

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁶² Letter of May, 1625, quoted by Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, VI, Part II, p. 257.

had found a safe asylum. This city, though reunited to France, long enjoyed the privilege of self-government. A governor resided there in the name of the king. But the townsmen would not let him have the power to keep a garrison there or to build a citadel. The real head was the mayor. Under a kingship of divine right the people of La Rochelle had republican customs.⁶³ The city, in the hands of the Protestants, was a port open to their allies, the English. Richelieu attached his political fortune to the taking of La Rochelle, persuaded that, if he succeeded in this expedition, he would crush the party of the Huguenots, would lessen the first houses of the kingdom, and would leave in France only one power standing: the kingship.⁶⁴

We know the story of that siege, begun in 1627, in which the republican enthusiasm, mingled with the Protestant exaltation, resisted for eleven months all the efforts of the great minister. The diary of one of the besieged, Pierre Nervault, relates the touching vicissitudes: the famine decimating the inhabitants, the sermons of the minister Solbert inflaming their courage, the mayor of the city, Guitton, sticking his dagger in the table at a council and swearing to kill the first person who talked of surrender; the royal army erecting a gigantic dike to close the port; Richelieu and the King coming to urge on the work; the Cardinal lending a hand at a wheel to set the cannons in their emplacements; two English fleets trying in vain, in response to the desperate appeals of the besieged, to break the terrible dike; the city at length (October 29, 1628) opening its gates after it had lost three-fourths of its inhabitants by famine.

Louis XIII recognized at La Rochelle the liberty of conscience, but he abolished the city's privileges and razed its fortifications on the land side. Protestantism had lost its last bulwark. Malherbe addressed his ode to Louis XIII, and at Paris the cornerstone of Notre Dame des Victoires was laid. A

⁶³ Puaux, *Hist. de protestantisme français*, p. 208.

⁶⁴ De Félice, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

few months later (June 28, 1629) the Edict of Alais granted to all the Reformers full liberty to practice their religion, but took from them the right to hold assemblies, to raise taxes, and to be represented at Court. Protestantism no longer existed legally as a political party. Two months afterward, Richelieu, receiving at Montauban a delegation of Huguenot ministers, declared to them that, since now they were reunited in the common rule of all the subjects, His Majesty would make no further distinction between them and the Catholics; that he himself would be happy to serve them on all occasions. To Louis XIII he said: "I have wished only to remove faction from the midst of your subjects, the rest (the conversion) being a work that must wait on Heaven, without our promoting it except by good life and good example."

In consequence of these principles, the Cardinal always refused, in the King's councils, to interpret in a sense unfavorable to the Protestants the obscure points of the Edict of Nantes. He saw to it that justice was rendered to them with firmness, and on this occasion withstood the scandal of public opinion. He called some Huguenots to the great state functions; he had them granted employment as counselors to Parliament and as marshals of France. But the provincial and municipal authorities did not imitate this liberal attitude; to such an extent that a custom arose of saying that a Huguenot becomes a counselor of Parliament more easily than he becomes a local tax collector.

The death of the great minister (December 4, 1642), soon followed by that of Louis XIII (May 14, 1643), might be expected to give a new direction to the religious policy toward the Protestants. But the latter were presently reassured. Mazarin was little interested in proselytism, and he especially dreaded the creation of embarrassments. "I have nothing to complain of regarding the little flock," he said, speaking of the Protestants; "if it browses on poor pastures, at least it does not stray away."

Louis XIV

In 1660, with the personal government of Louis XIV, a new phase of political action began. Even more than Richelieu, Louis XIV grasped the need of political and religious unity in the realm and wished to make sure of it at any price. We may well believe that, from the beginning of his reign, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was decided upon. Perhaps he hoped that it would fall of itself, that the mass conversion of the Protestants would make its provisions useless. But the future did not correspond to his hopes, and unforeseen circumstances led him to a premature revocation of the Edict and determined him to let his officers accompany that revocation with measures that were most violent and sometimes most odious.

The policy of Louis XIV regarding the Protestants was at first one of persuasion. But soon it changed into a policy of intimidation. Certain ones of his ministers or of his subordinate agents made it a policy of terrorism.

Louis XIV, indeed, never manifested toward the Protestants the confidence that Richelieu had shown them. He always interpreted and made others interpret the Edicts of Nantes and of Alais in the strictest sense. In 1662 he forbade the meeting of the triennial synod of the Reformed Churches; the next year he had the relapsed and apostates punished with banishment; two years later he permitted the children of Protestants to become Catholics, at the age of fourteen for the boys, twelve for the girls; in 1666 he granted only to Catholics the right to direct colleges and academies. However, no one can deny that his desire had been to obtain only sincere conversions, prompted by the power of the truth; he encouraged the clergy to increase the number of their sermons and missions; he protected all the new institutes that were founded in his reign;⁶⁵ he favored confer-

⁶⁵ The principal new institutes were the Oratorians (1611), the Lazarists or Vincentians (1624), the Daughters of Charity (1638), the Sulpicians (1641), the Trappists (1662), and the Brothers of the Christian Schools (1680).

ences and peaceful discussions between the Catholic priests and the Protestants desiring instruction. The conversion of Turenne, Pellisson, La Trémoille, and of a large number of nobles seemed to justify this procedure.

The causes inclining the King more and more to employ coercive measures, "to aid," as they said, "human weakness and to second the grace of God," were many. In this matter political considerations and religion were mingled. The most urgent suggestions for pursuing this method came, strangely enough, from Pellisson and from Madame de Maintenon. Attempts were made to obtain abjurations by promises and favors. "God makes use of all ways," said Madame de Maintenon. Making an unwarranted use of a saying of St. Gregory the Great, which Cardinal Ximenes had already unfortunately exploited,⁶⁶ she added: "One may well be resigned to the making of hypocritical fathers with the thought that their children will be sincere Catholics." Beginning in 1684, the influence of Madame de Maintenon, the King's secret wife, was all-powerful at Court; but as early as 1669 Louis XIV had heard Bossuet, in his funeral sermon of Henrietta of France, remind him that the diversity of the sects had led in England to the fall of Charles I. Might not the same causes produce the same results in France? For a long time Bossuet and Father de La Chaise, by arousing Louis' remorse for the grave faults of his private life, had stirred in his soul, which was deeply believing, the desire to make reparation. After the example of the kings and lords of the Middle Ages, who tried to redeem their sins by going on crusade against the Turk, might he not expiate his disorders by pursuing the Heretic?

Some statesmen, such as Le Tellier, remarked to him that, from the juridical point of view and in the thought of his ancestor Henry IV, the Edict of Nantes was only a provisional transaction, which had ceased to be in harmony with his govern-

⁶⁶ *Vie de Ximénès*, Bk. I, p. 67. Cf. Brugère, *De ecclesia*, p. 384 note.

ment; that, from the standpoint of private international law, religious unity was the law of all states;⁶⁷ that, from the diplomatic point of view, an urgent need was present for giving to the Pope, then cool toward the Court of France, a striking pledge of zeal; furthermore, from the simple point of view of the constitutional right of monarchies, the sovereign had the power to justify every measure by reasons of state, whenever the public safety was at stake. Such was now the case; the French Calvinists were accused with applauding the success of the Calvinists in Holland, with being ready to support a landing of Corneille Tromp on the coast of Guyenne or Poitou. In certain provinces these suspicions fostered a painful restlessness, which might become intolerable and might let loose civil wars. All these reasons were quite in agreement with the imperious temperament of the King of France, and so they prevailed. On October 28, 1680, Madame de Maintenon, in a triumphant tone, wrote as follows: "The King thinks seriously of the conversion of the heretics; and in a short time we shall have only one religion in the kingdom."

The Edict of Nantes

Madame de Maintenon's illusion was shared by most of the Catholics. The conversion of the Protestants was considered to be a simple matter. The Huguenots' conscience and their enthusiasm for the Scripture were not understood.⁶⁸ The persistence of the Protestants after a formal command of the King and the exposition of the true faith that would be given them by learned men, seemed to be an incredible obstinacy. But radical measures should not be resorted to without preparation. The

⁶⁷ At this period there was not in Europe a single state where nonconformists enjoyed all their civil, political, and religious rights.

⁶⁸ Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, VII, Part II, p. 43.

general Assembly of the Clergy in 1651 had requested that, if His Majesty's authority could not stifle the evil at a single stroke, it should enfeeble it and bring about its destruction little by little by the lessening of its power. This procedure was the one that was carried out. At Pellisson's instigation, a big relief fund was founded to assist the new converts. The Protestants were excluded from all the liberal professions. The age at which children could abjure the heresy in spite of their parents' opposition was lowered to seven years. Louvois imposed on the Protestants the obligation of lodging in their houses soldiers who were in transit. The dragoons were especially conspicuous for their deplorable excesses; their deeds of violence were the disgrace of this campaign, and we should like to believe that the King was unaware of these strange means of conversion. Lastly, the Protestants, having emigrated en masse to foreign lands, Louis XIV, upon Colbert's advice, ordered the confiscation of their property, declared null any sale of property made within a year preceding their leaving France, and made the heads of the émigré families liable to the penalty of the galleys.

Other measures, harder to justify, because they affected the interior life, were decreed against the heretics. A Protestant woman could not receive the services of a midwife except a Catholic one. This prohibition dates from February, 1680; in March of that same year, a letter of Colbert forbade Protestant women to hold meetings for the assistance of the poor of the said religion; a declaration (November, 1680) directed the local judges to go to the houses of Protestants who were sick for the purpose of seeing if they wished to die in the said religion. We may well suppose that only too often these measures taken by police officers or subordinate magistrates were carried out in a most offensive way. Pellisson, Louvois, and Colbert went beyond the wish of the King, and their instructions were ordinarily exceeded by their subordinates. The Huguenots, however,

endured all these vexations in silence. Hence arose the expression, "patient as a Huguenot." But secret hatreds smoldered in their souls, as the future would soon reveal.

To give the final blow to the heresy, the authorities thought that a vigorous act would suffice. The King was assured that it would not cost a drop of blood. Another consideration was even a greater factor in impelling Louis XIV to act. His attitude regarding the Assembly of 1682, which we shall speak of presently, had deeply offended the Pope. The King, aware of this, hastened to give the Holy Father a pledge of his orthodoxy. He thought he could measure the purity of his zeal by the vigor with which he suppressed heresy and he no longer hesitated to deliver the great blow that was being asked of him.

The text of the royal decree revoking the Edict of Nantes had been proposed by Le Tellier. After being amended by the King, it was signed on October 18, 1685. Prompted by the alleged fact that "the best and the larger part of our subjects, who formerly held the so-called reformed religion, have embraced the Catholic religion," the King judged he could do nothing better, to completely blot out the memory of the troubles caused by the progress of the false religion, than to revoke entirely the said Edict." Therefore the public exercise of the reformed worship was forbidden throughout the realm, except in Alsace. The Protestant ministers were ordered to leave France within the space of fifteen days. The others must remain under penalty of the galleys. Their children would be brought up in Catholicism; but, according to the last article, they would not be molested on the score of religion.

Enthusiasm was universal. Enlightened persons, as well as the populace, applauded the act. Madame de Sévigné declared that "no king had ever done or could do anything more memorable." Bossuet, Massillon, Racine, La Bruyère, La Fontaine, and "the Great Arnauld" were at one in the same admiration. To understand this moral unanimity of sentiments, we should

recall that need of order, of unity, and of splendor that was common to all Frenchmen, that instinctive temperamental aversion for the sternness, the dogmatism, and the foreign atmosphere of the Huguenot preacher,⁶⁹ and especially the conviction that, with the better and larger part of the Protestants sincerely converted to the Catholic faith, the rest would follow the movement without difficulty.

Events soon showed how great was the error on this last point. More than 200,000 Protestants went into exile. Almost all the wealthy emigrated. The poor, the peasants of Languedoc and of Saintonge, and the mountaineers of the Cévennes remained with their pastors and sought in the very text of the new decree a guaranty of their beliefs. The last article said that no one would be molested on the score of religion. Of what use, then, would it be to abjure? A large number of those who had been converted en masse returned to Calvinism. Meetings, more or less secret, were held in private houses, in the woods, on the moors, in the mountain ravines, in "the Desert," as they were accustomed to say.

The "synods of the Desert" increased in number particularly in the Cévennes and the Alps. Attempts were made to prevent them. Bands of partisans, most of them wretched and ill clothed, the Camisards, organized under the command of a leader endowed with the qualities of a real captain, Jean Cavalier. In many provinces royal officers, magistrates, and soldiers did not hesitate to use violence upon consciences. The intendants of Languedoc and of Béarn wrote: "No means but constraint will bring back the heretics. . . . A salutary vexation must open in their minds." ⁷⁰ At that moment a number of bishops—Bossuet, Fénelon, Percin de Montgaillard, Noailles, Le Camus—protested. Bossuet declared that "to force to the Mass those who refused a confession of faith and its consequences, was to lead

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, Part I, 375.

them into error and to degrade the Mass in their mind . . . and to make them believe that the exercise of the Catholic religion consisted in an external worship in which evidently one does not believe.”⁷¹ Louis XIV was told that the bishops who protested the most strongly were precisely those who were the most highly praised by the court of Rome. Le Camus, bishop of Grenoble, whose protest had been particularly vigorous, was raised to the cardinalate in 1686 without the King’s presentation.

Pope Innocent XI had, in fact, kept apart from the movement of repression and coercion organized in France. True, by a brief (November 13, 1685) he had vaguely felicitated Louis XIV on his edict. But the King expected more. In his reply he begged His Holiness to contribute to this undertaking by all means that God had entrusted to him. At the same time he wrote to his envoy at Rome, Cardinal d’Estrées: “My reply to the Pope’s brief will give opportunity to make further attempts to persuade His Holiness to do what is asked of him for the good and advantage of religion and the consideration he ought to have for me.” But “the more the French government increases the rigors against the heretics, the more the Pope shows himself charitable toward persons and severe in matters of doctrine.” Innocent XI found that he had to solicit James II, through his nuncio in England, to intercede with the King of France in favor of the French heretics.⁷² Thus the Church, faithful to her ancient traditions, did not forget the respect owing to souls, even when the most serious reasons necessitated the repression of heresy.

Some writers have exaggerated the material losses undergone by France in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. To deny the losses altogether would be false to historical evidence. But we should reduce their importance to true proportions. A large number of merchants, manufacturers, and farmers emigrated to other countries. Near Berlin the village of

⁷¹ Bossuet, *Œuvres complètes* (Lachat ed.), XXVII, 143.

⁷² Cf. Mazure, *op. cit.*, II, 126.

Charlottenburg was created by French farmers; at London a suburb was filled with French silk workers; more than 12,000 officers and soldiers eventually formed those regiments that France would encounter on all the fields of battle. But the religious and moral evolution that took place at the close of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century, under the influence of the events that we have just related, has a still greater import. In those "synods of the Desert" where the Protestant worship was celebrated during all of the eighteenth century, illuminism, always latent in the Huguenot soul, revived with unparalleled intensity. Everywhere new prophets arose.

Moreover, the wanderings of the exiled Protestants had accustomed them to a cosmopolitan life. Meanwhile the political leaders of the school of Michel de l'Hôpital, in their desire for pacification at all costs, were impelled to take small account of dogmas, and they arrived progressively at a rationalist deism. Illuminism, cosmopolitanism, and deism are the three characters which the society of the ancient regime finally transmitted to revolutionary society. Of course, nobody pretends that such tendencies were not developed outside Protestantism. The responsibility for them sometimes falls on the very ones who fought the Huguenots most intensely. By mixing in political questions, religious proselytism had lost much of its prestige. Seeing the Christian spirit defended by certain men whose private life was an outrage to the fundamental virtues of Christianity, a person could not easily preserve the same respect for it. When Bossuet pointed out to Jurieu the fatal tendency which led from private judgment to deism, the Protestant pointed to the slippery path which led from the corruption of morals to the denial of God. Both men at last asked themselves, not whether France would become Christian in the manner of Rome or of Geneva, but whether it would long remain Christian at all.⁷³

⁷³ On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, see the following: *Recueil des édits . . . rendus pour l'extirpation de la R. P. R.* (last ed., 1885); *Procès-verbaux des*

Furthermore, Protestantism and political Catholicism were not the only religious scourges of Europe. Gallicanism, Jansenism, quietism, and rationalist philosophy were also preparing the way for the new times.

assemblées du clergé (9 vols., 1767-78); *Mémoires du clergé* (12 vols., 1716); Rulhière, *Eclaircissements sur les causes de la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*; Rousset, *Hist. de Louvois*; Rébelliau, *Bossuet, historien du protestantisme*; many articles in the *Revue des questions historiques*, the *Revue historique*, the *Etudes*, and the *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*.

CHAPTER X

Gallicanism

AT the end of the wars of religion, although men's minds continued to be upset, the search for a formula of assuagement was kept up. The seventeenth century would soon discover that solution in the Gallican compromise.¹ To represent Louis XIV's religious policy as a compromise with Protestantism may seem to be a paradox, after the account we have just given. But the Gallican theories, under the various forms in which they have appeared, reach back to origins earlier than Luther and Calvin. No less true is the fact that the state of the Gallican spirit, composed of distrust toward Rome and excessive attachment to a national religious autonomy, has its analogy in one of the most essential traits of the Protestant spirit. It might have appeared to many, at the close of the religious wars, as an acceptable compromise.

Gallicanism

In spite of its name, the Gallican error was not special to France. In the history of the eleventh century we saw the strife against Rome break out in Germany with greater violence under Henry IV than it ever had in France. At the end of the eighteenth century we shall see the attachment to the national rites assume a more stubborn character in Austria, under Emperor Joseph II. The word "Gallicanism," which has prevailed as a name to designate this doctrine, undoubtedly came to it from the fact that the French spirit, more precise and systematic, was able to supply it with more exact and sharp formulas.

¹ Hanotaux, *Hist. du cardinal de Richelieu*, II, 17.

Moreover, under this word are included diverse doctrines, sometimes divergent, that must be carefully distinguished if we wish to be free from regrettable confusions and unjust qualifications which historians have not always succeeded in avoiding.

One is a political Gallicanism, which tends to limit the power of the Church by the power of the state, at times through suppression of the former by the latter. This doctrine derived its strength in the Western Schism, and the absolute regimes that were established after the sixteenth century in modern Europe made it more or less the principle of their religious policy. Quite different was ecclesiastical Gallicanism, which, within the Church, sought to limit the power of the papacy by that of the episcopate, of the clergy, or even of the body of the faithful. Formulated at the councils of Constance and Basle, ecclesiastical Gallicanism survived the Western Schism and took on various forms. Episcopalian with Gerson, it became Presbyterian with Richer,² multitudinist with Marco Antonio de Dominis.³ With several persons, Gallicanism was nothing more than a vague tendency, made up of distrust of possible encroachments by the court of Rome, of jealous and too exclusive attachment to national ecclesiastical customs and the prerogatives of the civil power.

In France, once the legists became a power, especially since the parliaments recruited by heredity, were constituted, in the

² Edmond Richer was born at Chource in the diocese of Langres in 1560. He died at Paris in 1631. Appointed syndic of the Faculty of Theology of Paris in 1608, three years later he published his doctrines in a book entitled *De la puissance ecclésiastique et politique*. See Puyol, *Edmond Richer*. Richer regarded as the seat of ecclesiastical power the *totum ordinem hierarchicum, episcopali et sacerdotali ordini constantem*. Cf. Puyol, *op. cit.*, I, 251 and appendix.

³ Marco Antonio de Dominis was born in 1566 on an island off the coast of Dalmatia. He became a Jesuit, then a secular priest and archbishop of Spalatro. In his *De republica christiana* he maintained that the authority of the Church is in the totality of the faithful. *Totam ecclesiam esse columnam et firmamentum veritatis, et hanc ecclesiam totam non esse in solis episcopis et presbyteris . . . et consensus totius ecclesiae intelligitur etiam in laicis* (*De republica christiana*, Bk. I, G. 12, nos. 10, 42).

absence of the States General, as a permanent political power, a new form of Gallicanism was born. This new form, without professing new doctrines but simply by systemizing the theories and the political aspect of Gallicanism, came to exercise in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the most formidable opposition to the papacy. "The Christian kingship had shown rather a certain tendency to live in good accord with the papacy. But the ministers of the kings—and also the judges of the higher courts, the officials of every rank, who had no diplomatic relations to maintain with Rome—those sons and grandsons of bourgeois families neglected no occasion to stir up the leaven of discord that always exists between two rival powers." ⁴ In the second half of the sixteenth century the court of Rome by ostensibly taking the part of Spain, the pope by arrogating the right to dethrone Henry IV for the crime of heresy, the League by sustaining his doctrines by force of arms, had by reaction won for the Gallican thesis a good part of the people, until then unconcerned with such discussions. By recalling the memory of Jacques Clément, who had slain Henry III, of Jean Châtel, who had nearly assassinated Henry IV, and of Ravailac, who succeeded in doing so, men were able to associate in the popular imagination the idea of the papacy with the picture of the assassination.

Richelieu's Religious Policy

Richelieu, with that profound sense of government which made him one of the greatest statesmen of modern times, understood that it was time to hold the Gallican movement within just limits. Yet, because of his too exclusive concern with the national interest and his readiness to make the Catholic spirit bend before reasons of state, he made himself the unchangeable defender of this restrained and unified Gallicanism.

⁴ Hanotaux, *op. cit.*, II, 26. The doctrine of parliamentary Gallicanism is set forth in the famous work of Pierre Pithou, *Les libertés de l'Eglise gallicane*.

We see him condemn the pamphlets of those who still maintained the theories of the Leaguers about the temporal power of the pope ⁵ and the Gallican doctrines that went so far as to associate simple priests in the government of the Church. On October 30, 1625, he had the provost of Paris publish a decision that every seditious pamphlet should be burned in the Place de Gréve, and that prescribed most severe penalties against any printer who printed it and any bookshop that sold it.⁶ About a month later he directed the bishops to punish the authors of the pamphlets and, after the protests of the nuncio Spada, he turned the affair over to the Parliament. Some independent bishops, with Archbishop Trapes at their head, protested, and declared proudly that religious questions concerned them alone and that they forbade Parliament to concern itself with these matter in the future.⁷

Richelieu then brought the question before the King, who (March 26, 1626) blamed the Parliament for its interference and the bishops for the terms of their reply. In that same year Father Santarelli, a Jesuit, published at Rome a treatise *De haeresi, schismate et apostasia*, in which the Roman doctrines were set forth in extreme terms. The Parliament ordered the seizure, at the Cramoisy bookshop in Paris, of the package of books intended for sale and ordered all the Jesuits then present in Paris to sign four propositions, as follows: 1. the king of France holds his power only from God and his own sword; 2. the pope has no power over kings, either coercive or directive; 3. the king cannot be excommunicated; 4. the kingdom cannot be put under interdict. Richelieu's personal intervention moderated the penalty. Finally a decision was reached that the four superiors of the houses of the Company of Jesus located in Paris would disavow the opinions of Father Santarelli. The

⁵ On these pamphlets, which mostly attacked Richelieu directly, see Hubault, *De politicis in Cardinalem Richelieu libellis*, and Maynard, *Saint Vincent de Paul*, IV, 1.

⁶ Puyol, *Edmond Richer et la rénovation du gallicanisme au XVII^e siècle*, II, 259.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

Cardinal's letter promulgating this compromise was imperative and haughty. He wrote: "I counsel you to sign this, or else prepare to leave the kingdom." ⁸

With the pamphlets suppressed and the Jesuits humbled, Richelieu turned to the Gallican peril. In the course of this same year 1626 the Sorbonne, fearing to see the Roman doctrines triumph among its members, had forbidden the religious to take part in its deliberations, and the Parliament seconded it to a certain extent. Richelieu (November 2, 1626) had the King sign an edict declaring that the religious "will go as they did in the preceding years to the meetings of the faculty." This time the Parliament and the Sorbonne, the two chief defenders of Gallicanism, found themselves dominated by the powerful hand of the great minister.⁹

In the eyes of the Cardinal and of his faithful confidant, Father Joseph, a particular theory seemed especially subversive: that Presbyterian or rather clerical Gallicanism of Edmond Richer, according to which the power in the Church belonged not to the pope or to the bishops, but to all who were admitted to holy orders. Richelieu foresaw a possible application of this ecclesiastical democratic theory to the realm of politics. Father Joseph saw in it one of the gravest attacks that could be made on the Catholic hierarchy. This zealous religious, by dint of repeated attempts, succeeded in obtaining from Edmond Richer, the principal author of the doctrine, a retraction that seems to have been sincere.¹⁰

Was political and religious security obtained by these condemnations, these repressions, and these abjurations? Those

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 242-45.

¹⁰ According to Moréri (art. "Richer" in the *Dictionnaire*) Richer's retraction was forced from him with a poniard at his throat, amid a dramatic scene, arranged by Father Joseph in the room of the Capuchin. This account, still repeated in the *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses* (s.v. Richer), originated in a spurious and calumnious letter of one Morizot. See Puyol, *op. cit.*, II, 375-81. Richer died in 1631, after solemnly declaring that his retraction was entirely free.

persons about the great minister may have thought so. But for him, what he had so far done was merely the prelude of the political undertaking that he had in mind. In fact, with regard to the relations of Church and state, he was considering the formulation of a firm and definitive doctrine that would accord to the Roman Pontiff the minimum of the rights which orthodoxy demanded, and that would assure to the civil power the free and full exercise of the sovereign functions which the national tradition attributed to it. After having this doctrine approved by the pope and having it accepted by public opinion, he would reorganize the Church in France on these foundations.

For the realization of his plan, Richelieu cast his eyes on a scholarly magistrate who, by the resources of his mind as well as by the pliability of his character, seemed likely to be a valuable auxiliary. The name of this man was Pierre de Marca. Born in Béarn in 1594, of a noble family, he became president of the Parliament of Pau and at Paris filled the office of counselor of the king. His extensive knowledge and his brilliant mind had been remarked. Bossuet called him "a man of fine genius, but versatile and elusive, a man who had the unfortunate facility of passing from one opinion to another under cover of a few ambiguities and of treating ecclesiastical matters in a tone of derision."¹¹ In 1641 the learned magistrate published a large volume under the title of *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii*. With remarkable erudition, in a pure and correct style, the author, whose pen was evidently guided by Richelieu, established in the first place and in a strong manner the infallibility of the Church. But where do we find the seat of this infallibility? Marca was cautious not to declare the doctrine of the superiority of the council over the pope, or that of the supremacy of kings in the Church. He merely said that, if the head of the Church is infallible, this infallibility can be validly

¹¹ Bossuet, *Gallia orthodoxa* (Lachat ed.), XXI, 24.

exercised only with a certain consent of the Church herself. He further held that the kings held their power by a divine right and, after condemning the interferences of the emperors of the Orient and of King Philip the Fair in Church matters, he proclaimed the right for the prince to blame the act of an ecclesiastic who would violate, in his official acts, the canons and decrees confirmed by the royal power.

In spite of the precautions of style, Marca's book was condemned at Rome, since it admitted neither the absolute infallibility of the pope, since it laid down as a condition a "certain consent of the Church," nor his absolute disciplinary power, since it set up in opposition the divine right of the kings.¹² Negotiations with a view to giving an episcopal see to Pierre de Marca, who decided to take orders, fell through.¹³ However, Richelieu held in reserve other means of action.

We do not know with certainty whether the idea, enunciated around Richelieu by his collaborators and friends, of erecting the Church of France into a patriarchate, with the Cardinal-minister at its head, was simply a clever maneuver intended to intimidate the court of Rome, or whether the design was serious. What is certain is that Richelieu found a Jesuit to defend this project, to maintain that such an undertaking was in no way schismatic, and that the consent of Rome was not needed for the creation of a patriarchate in France, that such consent had not been necessary for the establishment of the patriarchates of Constantinople and of Jerusalem. The author of this defense was called Michel Rabardeau. His work, *Optatus Gallus*, was condemned by the Holy Office (March, 18, 1643).

Cardinal Richelieu was already dead, and his astonishing project, if it was indeed his serious plan, died with him. But the

¹² First on April 7, 1642, then on November 5, 1664.

¹³ Pierre de Marca, ordained after the death of his wife, was appointed archbishop of Toulouse in 1655.

results of his religious policy continued and would develop afterward. Of that Gallicanism, which perhaps the great Cardinal wished merely to use as an instrument of pacification, Louis XIV made an arm of war. The University and the Parliament would make use of it to discredit the Roman doctrines; diplomacy, to threaten the pope even in his own states; the king, to force the bishops and the regulars; and all of Bossuet's wisdom and authority would be needed to halt a great assembly of prelates on the road of schism.

In 1661, when Louis XIV inaugurated his personal government, Gallicanism had its army, its program, and its chief.

The first element of that army and the most solid was the magistracy, which was anticlerical. The magistrate and the cleric both wore a Roman robe, but the robes did not come from the same Rome. The magistrate and the cleric were concurrent judges. Ever since the Middle Ages the civil magistrates strove to remove more and more classes of legal cases from the jurisdiction of the clergy to that of the civil tribunals. Being laymen, they were laicizers and converted the liberties with regard to the pope into servitude toward the crown.¹⁴

In the Sorbonne, rebuilt in 1629 by the care of Richelieu, where the body of the great Minister was laid at rest, the anti-Roman tradition was an old one. Although some resolute partisans of papal infallibility were to be found there, the faculty's attitude of dependence toward the king made it a pliable instrument of the royal policy.

The lower clergy retained all its sympathies and devotedness for the Church of Rome. But the upper clergy, after the concordat of 1516, was recruited under the preponderant influence of the king, and was related to the great families of the magistracy and the nobility; therefore its members often resided at the court. Thus it was unprepared to resist the orders of the king.

¹⁴ Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, VII, Part II, 16.

Henceforth Gallicanism had a well formulated program. Pierre Pithou's *Libertés de l'Eglise gallicane* became the manual, the catechism, we may say the Code of the party. Its eighty-three maxims, in consequence of their being invoked and applied by the courts, entered into the body of the law of the state. Some of the accepted maxims were, that no subject can be judged outside the kingdom, that the king has no superior in temporal matters, that he cannot be excommunicated. And the commentators of these principles even improved on them. A certain Pussort, a state counselor and uncle of Colbert, declared that "the king is the master of the goods of all his subjects, principally of ecclesiastical goods,"¹⁵ and the clever jurist Le Vayer de Boutigny, who was later appointed intendant of Picardy, wrote in his collection of civil and canonical law, that "the bishops hold from the state whatever temporalities they have."¹⁶

Religious Policy of Louis XIV

Gallicanism had its leader, no longer a minister however powerful, but the King himself. Louis XIV, from the outset of his personal government, clearly manifested two intentions: to govern alone, and to govern by the most general laws. To govern alone, he determined to reduce the three organized powers that rose up in the face of his power: the Protestant Church, the Parliament, and the Jansenist party. But the Catholic clergy, which rallied to the pope, might be a formidable obstacle to his system of government. The royal policy never lost sight of this perspective. To combat the Roman influence, Louis XIV did not hesitate, when the case arose, to make appeal to the Parliament itself. His logical and systematic mind, enamored of general laws that were common to all his subjects,

¹⁵ Cf. *Mémoires de Louis XIV*, p. 118; quoted by Gérin, *Recherches historiques sur l'Assemblée de 1682* (2nd ed.), p. 52.

¹⁶ Quoted by Gérin, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

hostile to all exceptional jurisdictions and to all privileged situations, labored ceaselessly in this direction.

An incident of seemingly small importance, the sustaining of a theological thesis, opened the conflict. On December 16, 1661, a Flemish Jesuit, Father Coret, sustained, at the college of Clermont, a theological thesis which said that the pope received infallibility from Christ, and that this infallibility extends to facts as well as to law. Was this a clever tactic of the Jesuit? The Jansenists then maintained that the *Augustinus* was *de facto* outside the infallible condemnations of the Holy See; and the Gallicans sharply opposed the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. To sustain papal infallibility was to furnish the King with arms to combat Jansenism, but by a fatal blow to Gallicanism. Whatever may have been the intention of the young doctor, his thesis succeeded merely in arousing the ire of the Jansenists and of the Gallicans at the same time. Arnauld published a violent little work entitled *La nouvelle hérésie des jésuites*, soon followed by other works. The King, though strongly opposed to the Jansenists, declared himself against the Jesuit's thesis. The intervention of Father Annat, the confessor of the King, and especially a clever memorandum of Archbishop Marca of Toulouse, the scholar to whom recourse was had in difficult cases, put an end to the incident. But passions had been stirred and they would reawaken later. The King had been offended, and he would not forget the offense.¹⁷

Affair of the Corsican Guard

Scarcely was this affair terminated, when Louis XIV took advantage of another incident to make a direct attack on the Pope and to treat him haughtily. On August 20, 1662, three partly intoxicated Frenchmen, belonging to the household of

¹⁷ Louis XIV, wishing to reward De Marca for his services, had him appointed archbishop of Paris. But the prelate died (June 29, 1662) three days after receiving his bulls.

the French ambassador at Rome, the Duke de Créquî, began quarrelling with the Corsicans of the papal guard. Some Corsican soldiers came to the help of their comrades and fired shots at the Farnese palace, where the ambassador resided. Créquî was just then entering the embassy in a carriage; a bullet killed a page on the carriage step, another bullet grazed the cheek of the ambassador's wife. The King of France received word of the incident about a week later. He immediately ordered the papal nuncio to leave the court. The next day he wrote to the Pope, threatening vengeance upon him, "for an outrage the like of which had never occurred even among barbarians." To all Europe he complained of the attitude of the Pope, who evidently delayed in granting the reparations that were demanded. But, in fact, the King's anger was feigned. To De Witt he acknowledged that the affair was a mere bagatelle. He wrote to Créquî: "I must tell you that while I am making a great ado . . . I hope that the noise will be enough."¹⁸ The noise did not suffice. To attain his end, the King was led to go farther. He had Avignon seized, and he spoke of sending troops into Italy. Pope Alexander VII was obliged to present apologies to Versailles through his nephew Cardinal Chigi and to erect at Rome a pyramid in memory of the offense and the reparation.

This unfortunate affair resulted in a revelation of the antipapal feelings entertained by certain bishops, by most of the jurists, and by almost all the Jansenists. Archbishop Bourlemont of Toulouse even asked Colbert to fill the Holy Father with fear. To his colleague of Béziers, he wrote: "I hope they will demand of the Pope something more solid than the punishment of a few Corsicans." The *Gazette de France*, in long correspondence from Rome, set forth the facts while seeking to make the Pope's conduct odious. At the beginning of 1663, a new thesis, defended in the Sorbonne, raised another storm and

¹⁸ Quoted by Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, VII, Part II, p. 270. Cf. Gérin, *op. cit.*

compelled the faculty of theology to declare itself for or against the Roman doctrines.

"On January 19, 1663, a young bachelor of the Sorbonne, named Gabriel Drouet de Villeneuve, a Breton, who had imbibed among the Jesuits, with whom he studied the humanities, sentiments somewhat less harsh with regard to the pope than those current at the Sorbonne, presented a thesis, less to say what he thought than to learn what ought to be thought. His first proposition was that Christ had given to St. Peter and his successors a supreme authority over the Church; the second, that the popes, for good reasons, had accorded privileges to certain Churches, such as the Church of France; the third, that the general councils were useful but not absolutely necessary." ¹⁹

The defense of this thesis provoked "a sort of sudden raising of shields in the sense of the Gallican liberties." ²⁰ Denis Talon, the Advocate General, addressed to the Parliament a denunciation of the faculty of theology of Paris as "occupied by a powerful cabal of monks and of a few seculars bound together by their interests and by faction." The Procurator General, Achille de Harlay, went at once to the King. When the King asked him what brought him to the Louvre, the magistrate replied: "Sire, I come to know from Your Majesty whether you wish that the pope should have the power to take the crown from your head whenever it pleases him." At these words the King "opened his eyes wide." Harlay explained to him that such was the sense of the thesis defended at the Sorbonne. The Parliament (January 22, 1663) issued a decree forbidding the faculty to allow such propositions to be maintained in any thesis, and ordered that this decree would be entered in the register of the faculty.

¹⁹ Rapin, *Mémoires*, III, 195.

²⁰ Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, IV, 152.

In the face of this order, the Sorbonne showed a courageous independence. It refused to make the inscription pure and simple of a decree bearing on theological matters, and claimed the right of a preliminary deliberation on the matter. The faculty, as we know, included a certain number of doctors firmly convinced of the doctrine of papal infallibility; these members resisted to the very end. The others finally agreed to a formula that was a *via media*: that the pope is infallible was not denied, but that the papal infallibility is certain was contested.

The King decided that the affair should rest there. He saw the danger of exasperating the doctors of the Sorbonne or of putting them into violent conflict with the Parliament. He says in his *Mémoires*: "I thought that the shortest solution was to let them write what they pleased in their so-called registers." But the question did not depend on the will of a sovereign, even one as absolute as the King of France, to suppress a pending question which involved the most essential principles of the government of the Church. The discussion continued under cover, as we may see from the correspondence of the nuncio Gargellini. Now the question concerned a conflict of jurisdiction between regulars and seculars, now it was regarding an interference of Parliament in religious affairs, again it concerned a new thesis reviving the Gallican question, stirring up men's minds and threatening to flow over into the political terrain. In the month of March, 1669, the nuncio wrote to Rome: "I have the King, the ministers, everybody against me."

In fact, Jansenists and Gallicans found themselves, since the affair of Drouet de Villeneuve, in combination against the partisans of papal infallibility. A new incident divided them and turned sharply against the King two of the men whom the Jansenist party especially boasted of.

The Regalia

A royal declaration of February 10, 1673,²¹ deciding that "the right of regalia belonged universally to the king in all the bishoprics of the kingdom," started a new conflict. By "right of regalia" was meant the right which the king of France claimed during the vacancy of a bishopric, to receive its revenues and to appoint to the benefices dependent on it until the new incumbent should have taken the oath of fidelity and had this oath registered with the Cour des Comptes. The jurists distinguished two elements in this right: the right to receive the revenues, the temporal regalia, and the right to appoint to vacant benefices, the spiritual regalia. The temporal regalia had their origin in an immemorial custom. In the early Middle Ages, because of the fear that the vacancy of an episcopal see would be an occasion of pillaging the goods confided to the bishop, the temporal ruler (count, duke, or king), as the suzerain of the deceased prelate, assumed the responsibility for maintaining order in the episcopal domains and, in compensation, received the revenues of the vacant bishopric. The popes had not protested against the exercise of this right, which seemed to be based on the services rendered. Quite other was the pretended right of spiritual regalia. The story of the investiture quarrel shows how energetically the popes contested the interference of the temporal power in the appointment to benefices. From Charles the Simple to Charles VII many encroachments of this sort were repeated by the kings of France. But we know the solemn protests of Innocent III and Clement IV.²² A declaration of the Second Council of Lyons (1274) issued excommunication *latae sententiae* against those who should usurp the right of regalia and exhorted those who were

²¹ Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, XIC, 67-69.

²² See Fleury, *Hist. ecclés.*, Bk. LXX, chap. 34; Bk. LXXVI, chap. 61; Bk. LXXXV, chaps. 44, 58.

in possession of these rights, through the foundation of Churches or through an ancient custom, not to make abusive use thereof.²³ But Louis XIV not only proclaimed the right of regalia, as a right inherent to his crown, but he extended it abusively to all the dioceses of his kingdom, attributed to the Parliaments the exclusive competence in questions connected with this right, and gave a retroactive effect to his edict. The bishops of dioceses exempt from the regalia were required to register their oaths of fidelity in the *Chambre des Comptes* within two months. If they should fail to do this, the regalia would be open in their dioceses.

Relying on the text of the Council of Lyons, which forbade princes to extend the right of regalia, two bishops declared that they could not obey the King's orders: the goods of the Church entrusted to them were, they said, a sacred deposit which they wished to keep intact for their successors. These two bishops were Nicholas Pavillon, bishop of Alet, and François Caulet, bishop of Pamiers.

Nicholas Pavillon (1597-1677)

Nicholas Pavillon, born at Paris in 1597, of an official of the *Chambre des Comptes*, was a former disciple of St. Vincent de Paul, who had made use of his services for five years in his different works. St. Vincent used to call him his right arm. His manner of speech was simple, austere, and apostolic, like his life. When he became bishop of Alet in 1637, he devoted himself entirely to the evangelization of that poor diocese. The episcopal city was a town of less than two hundred homes, his palace a house in ruins, the cathedral a former refectory without a floor and with a roof falling to pieces. In this wild district

²³ The Council declared excommunicated *ipso facto . . . universos et singulos qui regalia de novo usurpare conantes, bona ecclesiarum . . . occupare praesumunt*. Mansi, XXIV, 90. Cf. Loyson, *L'Assemblée du clergé de France de 1682*, p. 4.

of the Corbières, long abandoned by its bishops, the spiritual wretchedness that he met was worse than the bodily miseries. Peasants and lords, laymen and even priests, had fallen into a lamentable state of ignorance and immorality.

The organization of his seminary seemed to him to be his work of capital importance. He himself kept the active direction of it until his death. The Bishop's life was the best sort of sermon for the people of his diocese. He slept in a sort of hay-loft; the frugality of his meals disconcerted his visitors; after his death the marks of his bodily mortifications were seen on his body. His most faithful friends, such as St. Vincent de Paul, had not failed to note what was extreme or rough in the austerity of the Bishop of Alet. Excessive also were his spirit of independence, his inflexibility in the defense of his prerogatives as a bishop, and his assurance in the affirmation of his alleged rights. He believed that "the key of science and of discernment is essentially joined to the episcopal character." Neither king nor pope, except in the respect due them, had any influence or hold on Pavillon.²⁴ Arnauld d'Andilly, after hearing him preach, became his admirer. The Jansenists promptly encompassed him. Such a bishop could be a valuable helper, perhaps a leader for the party. Nicholas Pavillon had scarcely any interest in questions of pure doctrine. Finally he replied to the advances of Port Royal, but after a delay of several years; then his move was to join the opposition of Port Royal and to go beyond it when the famous question of the formulary arose.

François Caulet (1610-80)

François Caulet, bishop of Pamiers, was his neighbor. Born at Toulouse (1610), a son of a president of the Parliament of Languedoc, educated by the Jesuits of La Flèche, he completed

²⁴ Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, IV, 358.

his studies at Paris and placed himself under the direction of Father de Condren, who had introduced him to Father Olier. The latter at first used him in the missions of Auvergne, then in the foundation of the seminary of Vaugirard. In 1642, Father Olier, upon becoming curé of St. Sulpice, entrusted to Father Caulet the direction of the seminary. Two years later, at the proposal of St. Vincent de Paul, the King named him bishop of Pamiers. This diocese was one of those which the wars of religion had disturbed most deeply. While the Protestant heresy there exercised its ravages, the Catholics, even the clergy, had too often lost the regularity and gravity of Christian morals.

Bishop Caulet had learned at the school of Father Olier that the basis of every religious restoration is the reform of the clergy. Hence he devoted himself to that reform with tireless energy. Provided with bulls from the Pope and letters patent of the King, he conferred the office of canon only on priests who agreed to live in community according to the rule of the canons regular. The chapter of Pamiers, which had been the great scandal of the diocese under Bishop de Sponde, became a model under Bishop Caulet. The zealous Bishop founded two seminaries, where he received boys at a very early age. Under this name of seminary he created a sort of normal school for teachers that supplied the region with schoolteachers full of zeal.

The prelate's life was the most effective preaching. In his house he had neither groom nor valet nor almoner. The furniture was old or very simple. No rich pictures; nothing but prints. His rule of life, which his whole household and also his guests had to follow, was nearly the same as he had followed at the seminary of St. Sulpice: rising at five o'clock at the sound of the bell; meditation; Mass attended by all; a simple breakfast at which there was reading, even if notables were present; two or three days a week, after supper, catechism or instruction

for the servants; evening prayer in common and the reading of a subject of meditation for the morrow. The Bishop had a renown for holiness. Bossuet declared to Louis XIV that the people of the district of Foix regarded Bishop Caulet as a saint.

Like Nicholas Pavillon, François Caulet refused, in 1665, to sign the formulary by which the signers declared that they condemned the five propositions of Jansen in the sense of their author. He gave as his reason "that the Church always made a great difference between revealed dogmas and non-revealed facts, requiring a submission *de fide* for the former, but being satisfied with a respectful deference for the latter."²⁵ This attitude has put Caulet in the ranks of the Jansenist prelates. But perhaps he does not deserve this qualification.²⁶ He was a better informed theologian than Pavillon and cannot be reproached with any heterodox opinion. The biographers of the two bishops relate that the Bishop of Alet, when he was having Arnauld's *Frequent Communion* and St. Cyran's *Letters* read at table, interrupted the reading the whole time that the Bishop of Pamiers was at Alet, knowing that this prelate could not endure the reading of them.

The declaration of 1673, subjecting all the bishoprics of France to the regalia, had aroused in the upper clergy only some vague murmuring, which probably could be easily overcome. To obtain this result, Louis XIV solemnly renewed his orders in 1675. A general Assembly of the Clergy, being held in Paris at that very time, raised no protest. The royal jurists were triumphant. But on April 27, 1677, the Bishop of Pamiers published an ordinance by which he declared that, in conformity with the General Council of Lyons, he could not consent to the extension

²⁵ Bertrand, *Bibliothèque sulpicienne*, III, 25.

²⁶ This point seems to be established by Bertrand's study in his *Bibliothèque sulpicienne*, III, 22-25. Bertrand quotes in full the *mandement* issued by the Bishop of Pamiers on the occasion of the formulary prescribed by Alexander VII. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.

of the regalia, which had never taken place in his diocese. He added that, since his cathedral church was regular and reformed, this further reason prevented him from admitting this right. This ordinance of the Bishop was annulled by a decision of the Archbishop of Toulouse. The Bishop of Pamiers replied to this decision by an act of October 18, 1677. On the 26th of the same month, he notified the Archbishop that he was appealing to the Holy See. The Pope was already acquainted with the purity of Bishop Caulet's zeal, and had already (December 1, 1676) paid homage to his piety and virtue.²⁷ On March 2, 1678, he speaks of the Bishop's ardent zeal for the restoration of discipline and of his admirable submission to the Holy See.²⁸ But the step taken by the Bishop of Pamiers irritated the court, and his revenues were seized.

Nicholas Pavillon died on December 8, 1677, at the age of eighty years, after being bishop thirty-nine years. François Caulet alone remained at the breach. For three years "this little man," as he was ironically called by Bishop Rapin, bishop of an abandoned diocese of the Midi, maintained a relentless struggle against the King, against the Parliament, against the intendant Foucault. This agent, sent by the King to seize the Bishop's temporalities, carried out the seizure with so much rigor that the Bishop saw himself reduced to beggary. To Louis XIV he wrote as follows: "Sire, for the past months I have been deprived of the revenues of my bishopric, which are the patrimony of Jesus Christ. I have been left not even the things that are most necessary for life, which are not refused to the worst criminals." Some devoted Catholics, moved by this wretchedness of the Bishop, sent him aid. The royal justice pursued them. But we are told that Louis XIV prevented the royal agents from putting in the Bastille a gentleman who had given aid to the Bishop

²⁷ Berthier, *Innocentii Papae XI epistolae*, I, 60.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

of Pamiers. "No one shall be able to say," he declared, "that I have put anyone in the Bastille for a deed of almsgiving."

Three different times Innocent XI wrote to the King of France to remind him of the respect due the episcopacy and the goods of the Church. His third brief, dated December 27, 1679, closed with these words: "Henceforth we will not treat of this matter by letters; but we will not neglect the remedies which the power that God has bestowed upon us has placed in our hands." Madame Sévigné, writing to Madame de Grignan, gives a summary of the letter and says: "You will see a strange pope. He speaks as a master. You would say he is the father of Christians." What the Pope intended was indeed a threat. This the King understood. He waited six months; then he obtained from the general Assembly of the Clergy, meeting in July, 1680, a letter in which they declared that "they were bound to His Majesty by ties that nothing can break" and expressed "a certain displeasure" at the papal letter. Then the King informed the Pope that he was sending Cardinal d'Estrées to him for the purpose of discussing the regalia.

A moment of calm followed. But new incidents arose. Bishop Caulet died (1680) at the age of seventy. Madame Sévigné wrote: "The holy Bishop of Pamiers died on August 21. The affair of the regalia is ended. . . . The five against whom they wished to proceed will be before the great Judge, who will show them more kindness than they received in this world." In this world, alas, the poor diocese of Pamiers experienced a resumption of the old rigors. When the chapter elected to the office of capitular vicar a canon who had been removed by the King, the latter annulled the election. The terrible Foucault went to Pamiers with several companies of cavalry and started a sort of dragonade. The Pope protested again. This time his protests awakened no echo at the French court. The situation between the two powers became more and more strained.

The Nuns

Gallicanism was everywhere triumphant: in the Parliament and the Sorbonne, which had proscribed all theses favorable to papal infallibility; at Rome, where the Duke de Créqui imposed his conditions on the papal court; in all the dioceses of France, where the regalia seemed permanently established; in the Assembly of the French Clergy, which, in the midst of the latest incidents, expressed its attachment to the royal authority. In the affair of the regalia the previously most devoted defenders of the papal power, the Jesuits, spoke out against the two refractory bishops and on the side of the King. Then Louis XIV, as if resolved to attack the last power that could put an obstacle in the way of his absolute sovereignty, laid hands on an institution which the concordat of 1516 evidently intended to withdraw from the civil authority: the convents of nuns.

Such a claim seems to us strange if we image the picture of a great abbey of women at the close of the seventeenth century. Such an abbey was a real social power, almost a political power. An abbess styled herself "abbess by the grace of God," quite as the king was called "king by the grace of God." At the great ceremonies an officer carried her crosier before her, as a royal scepter is carried. In some cities the abbess had a tribunal: at times she exercised a jurisdiction over the clergy, as at Remiremont; over the male religious, as at Fontecrault. The abbeys of Fontevrault in Poitou or of Chelles in the Île de France were so important that they were reserved to princesses of the royal blood. But the concordat of 1516, which gave the king of France the right of appointment to the abbeys of men, retained the electoral method for the abbeys of women. In fact, the kings had found a way to evade the law. They designated a person of their choice; thereupon the pope issued a bull declaring that, the king having written in favor of such-and-such a person and the community having accepted her, he instituted her as abbess or

prioress. The pope, however, did not always lend himself to this subterfuge. The king then named his protégée, not as abbess, but as econome of the temporalities. By this title the appointee obtained at least the revenues of the abbey; in many a case this had been the real purpose desired.

The absolutism of Louis XIV could not be satisfied with these expedients. Always desirous of basing his government on general principles, the King directed his jurists and theologians to establish juridically and canonically the right of the king over the convents of women. The jurists were most prompt and categorical in their replies. The learned and obliging Baluze wrote to the King (December 11, 1669): "I have drawn up a little memorandum regarding the benefices. I have added a copy of the *Declaration verbale* of King Henry III for the appointment to the elective abbeys and priories of some women. . . . This kind of appointment by the king has passed into the law of the kingdom." In favor of the royal right over the convents of women the subtle argument of the jurist Charles Dumoulin was recalled: "When mention is made in the masculine, if the matters under consideration are favorable to the right of the king, we must understand that the reference is to women."²⁹ The reply of the Sorbonne was less categorical and more embarrassed. But six doctors were found who thought they could extricate themselves by a certain artifice. They declared that if the king of France did not possess undeniably the right to appoint the abbesses, in such event the ecclesiastical superiors of convents, bishops or provincials, could, "in case of imminent danger to the property," appoint an "econome for the temporalities" and even to give her, while awaiting the necessary bulls, a "commission for the spiritual." But, they added, it belonged to the king to declare the imminent danger to the goods of a community.

²⁹ Dumoulin, *De resignatione*. Cf. Thomassin, *Ancienne et nouvelle discipline*, IV, 401.

These consultations removed Louis' last juridical scruples. He distributed the best abbeys to his protégées. The famous intendant Foucault, whose services we are acquainted with, wrote in his *Mémoires*: "March 20, 1675. My older sister has been named to the abbey of Jarcy, in consideration of an annual payment of 1,500 livres.—December, 1675. The King has given to my younger sister, Anna Foucault, the abbey made vacant by the death of my sister Claude.—December 18, 1680. I wrote to Père La Chaise, begging him not to take away this benefice from my family." In 1670 the two abbeys of Chelles and of Fontevault were governed by two natural daughters of Henry IV. The death (1670) of the abbess of Fontevault, Jeanne Baptiste de Bourbon, was the occasion for Louis' replacing her by a young sister of Madame de Montespan. A few years later one of the evidences of the influence of Mlle de Fontanges, who replaced Madame de Montespan with the King, was the appointment of her sister Catherine to the abbey of Chelles, replacing Madame de Brissac, whose resignation was obtained.

The Convent of Charonne

The affair of the convent of Charonne, occupied by nuns of the Congregation of Notre Dame, showed how far the audacity of the King and his jurists could go. The special circumstances of the foundation of this convent seem to have given it every desirable security against the encroachments of the lay power. After its establishment, owing to the generosity of Margaret of Lorraine, duchess of Orléans, in 1643, and its approbation by letters patent of Louis XIV, the Pope, by a brief, had regulated the conditions of election of the superior. He decreed that, after the death of the superior foundress, those who should succeed her would be named and chosen for a three-year period by the chapter and by means of election. This regulation did not hinder the King. In 1677, after the death of the second superior, Mad-

ame de Kerveno, Louis XIV declared that he took the convent of Charonne under his protection and he imposed on it for superior a Cistercian nun, Madame de Grandchamp. The nuns protested. The expulsion of four of them, who were conducted to the frontier, on the pretext that they were Lorrainers and that they might be in connivance with the enemy, did not lessen the courage of the community. On January 18, 1680, the sisters, forewarned of the arrival of Madame de Grandchamp, barricaded themselves and refused to open the doors of the convent to the King's protégée. At the same time they kept the Pope informed of the affair. By a brief of August 7, 1680, Innocent XI annulled the appointment of Madame de Grandchamp and ordered the recall of the four exiled nuns. The religious, strengthened in their determination by this papal decision, then elected a superior, Sister Levesque.

In vain Louis XIV turned the matter over to the Parliament and had it issue a declaration of abuse against the brief of the Pope. In vain Chancellor Michel Le Tellier, in the King's name, transmitted to the nuns the order to disperse. In September a second brief of the Pope confirmed the election of Mother Levesque; on December 18, 1680, a third brief censured the decree of the Parliament. But the King had gone too far to retreat. On January 14, 1681, the Parliament declared the convent of Charonne seized by its creditors and suppressed it. A few days afterward Archbishop Harlay of Paris prescribed the necessary measures for the secularization of the consecrated place, for the removal of the Blessed Sacrament, for the exhumation of the deceased, and so on. This forcible measure, in spite of the Pope's protests, opened up the gravest of the conflicts.

Policy of Louis XIV

We recall that the third brief of Innocent XI, issued with regard to the affair of the regalia, contained this threat:

"Henceforth we will not treat of this matter by letters; but we will not neglect the remedies which the power that God has bestowed upon us has placed in our hands." Since that letter, the situation had become worse. Would the dispersion of the Charonne convent prompt the Pope to carry out his threat? With Louis XIV and his entourage the fear of an excommunication was serious. Archbishop Charles Maurice Le Tellier of Reims wrote: "The Pope will not be turned aside from this plan to issue an excommunication by the maxims of His Majesty's officers, who hold that the king cannot be excommunicated and that the censures against his sacred person are null and abusive. The views of the Romans are altogether opposite, and they are not without decretals in their favor, and they have canonists to support their doctrine."

At this critical juncture the King resolved to set between the Pope and himself the clergy of France. He knew that, in this affair, he could count, for the defense of the prerogatives of the crown, upon Archbishop Harlay of Paris. François de Harlay, of the branch of Champvallou, born at Paris in 1625, abbot of Jumièges at the age of twenty-five, archbishop of Rouen the next year, transferred to the see of Paris in March, 1671, created duke and peer in 1674, commander of the Order of the Holy Ghost, and a member of the French Academy, was the accomplished type of great prelate of the ancient regime. Saint-Simon discerned "that broad, just, solid, and yet ornate spirit which, from the government's viewpoint, made a grand bishop and, from the viewpoint of the world, a most likeable grand seigneur and a perfect courtier."³⁰ But he adds that Harlay's learning, his eloquence and facility in preaching, his able management of his diocese, his business acumen, and the authority he had acquired among the clergy, all this was a contrast to his personal morals and his courtierlike behavior.³¹ The looseness

³⁰ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires* (year 1695), II, 350.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

of his private life was no secret to anyone. They used to say as he passed by: "At Paris as at Rouen he does everything that he forbids." ³²

The depth and soundness of his theological knowledge, the correctness and promptitude of his perception of affairs, had given him a great authority among the clergy and at court. He presided over six assemblies of the clergy of France. Every week the King gave him several hours for a discussion of the interests of the Church of Paris. Harlay was one of the chief instigators of the measures taken by Louis XIV against the Jansenists and against the Protestants. He had already been one of the staunchest supporters of the royal power in the matter of the regalia. He it was who had the assembly of 1680 vote the famous address in which the clergy of France declared to the King that "nothing would separate them from him." Some writers have even said that, in the history of the seventeenth century, Harlay appears as the man who held in his hands the threads of every affair.³³ In any event, in the project that Louis was meditating and that would result in the drawing up of the four articles of 1682, Harlay would take the principal part.

Assembly of the Clergy

We may well suppose he was the one who suggested to the King the expedient that permitted the question to be brought before an assembly of the clergy. The coming assembly would not meet until 1685. That of 1680 was dissolved. But only the assembly itself had authority to regulate the dates of its meetings. Advantage was taken of the presence at court of a number of bishops. The King "advised" the agents general of the clergy to convoke them for the purpose of consultation on the means

³² In his famous letter to Louis XIV (1693), Fénelon said: "You have a corrupt, scandalous, incorrigible, false archbishop. . . . You yield to him because he thinks only of pleasing you by his flatteries" (*Lettre de Fénelon à Louis XIV* [1825 ed.], p. 23).

³³ Sainte-Beuve, *Nouveaux lundis*, V, 173.

for "pacifying everything." Fifty-two bishops were found, thus showing, as Racine says, "that we had fifty-two prelates who were not in residence."

This gathering was what has been called "the Little Assembly." These court prelates were found so promptly only because they were not at their post of duty as bishops. They were asked to convoke urgently a General Assembly of the Clergy. This extraordinary assembly was given an exceptional character. It was defined as "extraordinary general assembly representing the Council." This title quite well indicated the end that the King and Harlay had in view, namely, to settle questions concerning discipline and dogma. Moreover, they must be assured of a docile assembly. The "Little Assembly" of 1681, following custom, had regulated that the General Assembly should be composed of two deputies of the first order and two of the second order from each province. *Lettres de cachet* were sent out, in a great number of dioceses, under the following formula: "We are sending you this letter . . . that you should choose a deputy other than deputy N. For such is our good pleasure." The fact of pressure exercised on this occasion by the King and his chancellor is beyond any shadow of doubt. Bossuet himself, who would be the glory of this assembly, came to it only by order. "They wish that I should be one of the Assembly," he wrote to Rancé on September 22, 1681.⁸⁴ This indefinite pronoun "they" meant the King. Fleury in his notes says: "The King wished the Bishop of Meaux to be there."

Bossuet (1627-1704)

The Assembly met on October 1, 1681. Harlay de Champvallon presided. Bossuet was designated by the King to make the usual opening address. The two influences of Harlay and of Bossuet would now find themselves face to face and would take each other's measure. The face of the Bishop of Meaux offered

⁸⁴ Urbain and Levesque, *Correspondance de Bossuet*, II, 256.

a striking contrast to that of the Archbishop of Paris. The strong side of Harlay was his cleverness, flexibility, and a fascinating distinction: "All the graces of his mind and body, which were boundless, were perfectly natural to him."³⁵ Bossuet's weakness was a frank timidity, almost naïveté. "A simple soul, lucid and candid, with neither brutality nor flattery, no one was farther removed from trickery and deception."³⁶ The worthiness of his life was known to all, and the most despicable and malicious attacks on his reputation were made only after his death.

Born in 1627 of a family of the nobility of the robe, with "the blood of parliamentarians in his veins," he was admired for his clear and firm judgment, his sense of justice and his notion of the possible, a robust good sense which he carried to the point of genius, and that splendor of common sense which is eloquence. From the solid studies of his boyhood and youth he had preserved the alliance of the two antiquities, a taste for ancient letters and a love for theology, the cultivation of the *Iliad* and that of the Bible. His first thesis, brilliantly sustained in 1648 before the great Condé, his first controversies against the Protestants of Metz, his *Refutation of the Catechism of Paul Ferry* (appearing in 1655), his preaching before the court beginning in 1662, the publication in 1669 and 1670 of his funeral sermons of Henrietta of England and Henrietta of France, the duties of tutor of the Dauphin (1670-79) which he performed with so great fidelity, gave him a unique prestige among the bishops of France.

His doctrines in 1681 remained what they had been at the college of Navarre. Deeply attached to the primacy of the Roman pontiff, he feared, however, that the Holy See might encroach on the temporal prerogatives of the state. He also feared that the Reformers, whose reunion with the Church he had tried to

³⁵ Saint-Simon, *op. cit.*, II, 350.

³⁶ Lanson, *Hist. de la litt. française* (7th ed.), p. 370.

bring about since the beginning of his priestly ministry, would be kept aloof from Catholicism by that same fear. On December 1, 1681, he wrote to Cardinal d'Estrées: "It seems to me that nothing is more odious than the opinions of the ultramontanes, and that nothing can put a greater obstacle in the way of the conversion of the heretical or infidel kings. . . . My idea has always been that, if we explain the authority of the Holy See in such a way as to set aside what makes some people fear it rather than revere it, this holy authority, without any loss, appears agreeable to everyone, even to the heretics and to all its enemies."³⁷

Considering the pressure under which its members were elected, we are not surprised that the Assembly showed itself out-and-out Gallican. It decided to approve the conduct of the King in the matter of the regalia and of the Charonne convent, and it also seemed resolved to vote in favor of the superiority of the councils over the pope. Several members held for the independence of the national Churches and for their subjection to the civil powers. A schism might well be feared.

What would be the attitude of the Bishop of Meaux? Personally he would have desired that the Assembly, instead of making any pronouncement on the burning question of the infallibility of the pope, would proclaim, according to a formula that was much cherished by him, "the infallibility of the Holy See." "But, however seductive this theory of infallibility might be, however great Bossuet's confidence in it might be, he had even more confidence in peace, and he would have preferred that such questions should not be raised. Were he to speak freely, he would have blamed with equal force the King's claims and Rome's stubborn resistance. At first he tried to bring about an accord."³⁸

The opening discourse, which he delivered on November 9,

³⁷ *Correspondance de Bossuet*, II, 280.

³⁸ Strowski, *Bossuet*, p. 285.

1681, at the Mass of the Holy Ghost in the church of the Grands Augustins, was a masterpiece of eloquence, wisdom, and moderation. He hailed the fullness of apostolic power in the chair of Peter. For, as he said, the Roman faith is always the faith of the Church. There they always believe what has been believed. The same voice resounds everywhere, and Peter remains in his successors the foundation of the faithful. But he added that, although everything depends on the head, this is with a certain order, and we must come to the Holy See by the bishops. He recalls St. Bernard's saying, that "we make a monster out of the human body if we attach all the members directly to the head."³⁹ Then passing on to the rights of princes and to the liberties of the Gallican Church wisely understood, he declares that "to proceed in the footsteps of St. Louis and Charlemagne, is not to be separated from the Holy See; on the contrary, it is to carefully preserve even the smallest fibers holding the members united with the head; it is not to lessen the fullness of the apostolic power, for even the ocean has its bounds in its fullness and, if it trespasses beyond these, its fullness would be a deluge that would ravage the whole world." The Pope, the bishops, and the King were satisfied. Bossuet, knowing his mastery of word and thought, wrote the next day to Cardinal d'Estrées: "Yesterday I delivered the sermon of the Assembly; and I would have preached in Rome what I said there, with as much confidence as in Paris."⁴⁰

But the accord, comparatively easy on the general principles, broke apart in the particular questions. Archbishop Harlay of Paris, Archbishop Le Tellier of Reims, son of the Chancellor, Bishop Choiseul-Praslin of Tournai, Père La Chaise himself, and especially Colbert, who stirred up their minds from behind the scenes, wished to settle in the first place the question of the

³⁹ St. Bernard, *De consideratione*, Bk. III, chap. 4.

⁴⁰ Bossuet, *Correspondance*, II, 268.

regalia to the advantage of the royal authority. "The Pope has driven us," they said; "he will repent of it." Bossuet, despairing of preventing the discussion, bent all his efforts to keep the decision of the Assembly from being offensive to Rome. He almost succeeded. They decided that the right of regalia should be extended to all the bishoprics, but that incumbents of benefices with the care of souls appointed by the king should ask for canonical investiture. The temporal regalia were extended; but the spiritual regalia were almost abolished: the canon law seemed to be essentially safeguarded. As soon as this resolution was voted (February 3, 1682), the Assembly wrote the Pope a letter in which it congratulated itself for having labored for the necessary union between the priesthood and the Empire. But it added: "Most Holy Father, we beg you to consider a little what a king we have." The Pope did not reply.

A great debate on the very basis of all the questions of discussion, that is, on the authority of the pope, was inevitable. Bossuet needed all his wisdom and eloquence to keep the deliberations from resulting in a schismatic declaration or one suspect of schism. Following a long report by the Bishop of Tournai, in which the divine right of kings was strongly affirmed and the so-called encroachments of the popes were sharply criticized, the assembly was asked to vote a declaration rejecting the indefectibility. The Bishop of Meaux protested. The indefectibility of the Holy See seemed to him to be peremptorily established by the very words of the Savior to St. Peter: "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not."⁴¹ Moreover, he carefully distinguished between such and such a pope, whom he believed capable of a passing error, and the Holy See, that he judged is preserved from any permanent error.⁴²

⁴¹ Luke 22:32.

⁴² This was the celebrated distinction *inter Sedem et Sedentem*, now condemned by the Council of the Vatican, but it was then a question that might be freely argued among Catholics. Cf. Fénelon, *De Summi Pontificis auctoritate*, II, 11-15.

The Four Articles of 1682

The Bishop of Meaux was charged with summing up the Gallican doctrine. This he did in the famous Four Articles of 1682. These declared substantially: 1. that St. Peter and his successors received no authority over the temporal affairs of kings; 2. that the pope is inferior to the council, as the Council of Constance declared in its fourth and fifth sessions; 3. that the pope can exercise his authority only in the limits of the canons of the universal Church and in conformity with the maxims of the Gallican Church; 4. that the decisions of the popes, even in matters of faith, are irrevocable only after they have been confirmed by the judgment of the whole Church.⁴³

These four articles were voted (March 19, 1682) by the seventy-two members of the Assembly. They have been evaluated by a learned jurist in the following terms: "Of these four articles, two at least bore on dogmatic questions which only an ecumenical council could decide and which were outside the competence of a General Assembly of the French Clergy."⁴⁴ In law the declaration was null even if it had been exact in fact. But was it so? A rapid inspection of the four articles will show us.

The first article declares that the secular power is independent of the spiritual power, that in temporal matters kings are not subject to any ecclesiastical power, that the pope cannot depose them either directly or indirectly, and cannot absolve their subjects from their oath of allegiance. In support of its declaration, the Assembly appealed to the Gospel text: "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's." We have two remarks to make on

⁴³ For the full text of the four articles, see Denzinger, nos. 1322-26.

⁴⁴ The French bishops said that they did not intend to give a dogmatic decision, but merely to declare what was the sentiment of the Church of France in these matters. But the mere fact of stating such a declaration in the face of Rome and, as it were, under the protection of the King of France, constituted a rashness open to suspicion.

this first article. 1. The Church has always taught that the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, are sovereign, each in its own domain; but a twofold condition must be observed. The independence should be reciprocal, and each power should remain in its own domain. Formerly this was not always the case, when the parliaments often encroached on the domain reserved to the Church. 2. The article does not specify, for cases in which the matter is mixed or in which a conflict arises, which of the two powers ought to have the last word; yet this is precisely the important point. On this point the popes of the Middle Ages had elaborated and had wished to impose the theory of the direct power of the Church over the state. That theory is sharply rejected by the first article. But, in the seventeenth article, most of the theologians maintained another theory, a more exact one, the theory of the indirect power of the Church. These theologians said that, in case of conflict, the Church cannot depose kings directly, but it can and should indicate to the faithful what is their duty; it then belongs to the faithful, as citizens, to perform this duty if they can. They are informed that the ruler has exceeded his powers, that he has gone beyond the limits of his sovereignty: the citizens should act to make him return to his proper domain. What the Church is unable to do, the nation can do, either by resisting the ruler or by deposing him.⁴⁵ The first article of the declaration of 1682 did not contain a clear explanation of this theory, which is quite irreproachable.

The second article proclaims that in spiritual matters the pope, vicar of Jesus Christ, has all power, but with the reservation that the decrees of the Council of Constance, passed in sessions 4 and 5, regarding the authority of general councils, will retain their full force and vigor. It adds that it rejects the opinion of theologians who consider the Constance decrees doubtful or not approved, or as relating only to the times of the Schism.

⁴⁵ This is what Fénelon calls the directive or declarative power of the Church. See his *De Summi Pontifici auctoritate*, chap. 39; *Œuvres complètes* (1848), II, 46.

These decrees, some said, admitted the superiority of the councils over the Holy See. The assembly of 1682, in appropriating these decrees, following the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, committed a double error.

The third article, which is rather vague, limits itself to saying that, with regard to the pope, the canons inspired by God and consecrated by the respect of the whole world, ought to be observed, and also the rules, customs, and constitutions admitted in the Kingdom of France and in the Gallican Church. Furthermore, the article did not define exactly what must be understood by the customs of the Gallican Church. On this subject a conflict existed between the parliaments and the bishops. The parliaments held that these customs were none other than the eighty-three articles of the Code of Pithou. The bishops and Bossuet, on the contrary, affirmed that the intention was to exclude the abuses introduced by the magistrates against the rights of the Church. Their protests were in vain. In fact, the parliaments regarded the Code of Pithou as consecrated legislatively by the declaration of 1682.

The fourth article, which was very short, touched an important question of dogma. "Although the pope has the principal part in matters of faith and although his decrees are addressed to all the Churches and to each of them, his decisions are final only if they have been confirmed by the judgment of the whole Church." In other words, the pope, even in matters of faith, however great may be his authority in this regard, is not infallible. This article was contrary to the teaching of St. Bernard and St. Thomas Aquinas, which was precise on this point.⁴⁶ It

⁴⁶ See the following text of St. Thomas: "Whether it belongs to the Sovereign Pontiff to draw up a symbol of faith.—I answer that a new edition of the symbol becomes necessary in order to set aside the errors that may arise. Consequently to publish a new edition of the symbol belongs to that authority which is empowered to decide matters of faith finally, so that they may be held by all with unshaken faith. Now this belongs to the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, to whom the more important and more difficult questions that arise in the Church are referred. . . . The reason of this is that there should be but one faith of the whole Church,

was contrary to the definitions given by the ecumenical councils of Lyons (1245) and of Florence (1439) and, what is more to the point, to the declarations made in 1625 and 1653 by two General Assemblies of the Clergy of France. Nevertheless, to employ the expressions of the canonists, the doctrine of the infallibility of the pope, if not accompanied with a sanction of anathema, was still not *de fide*; it was merely *prope fidem*. However, it is no less true that, of the four articles of 1682, two at least were not conformable to the common doctrine of the Church.

Bossuet's intervention had kept from the declaration of the clergy of France any schismatic formula. But they were always on the verge of schism. In an assembly made up of members chosen under royal pressure, Louis XIV had no great difficulty in forcing some declarations in agreement with his views. The King would find the same ready compliance in the Parliament. But in the religious orders, in the Sorbonne, in all those who were animated by a deeper Catholic sense, in that nameless force with which even absolute monarchs must always reckon, public opinion, and especially in the head of the Church, the King would find an uncompromising opposition. Finally, once more in history, an all-powerful temporal authority would correct itself before an unarmed spiritual authority.

On March 22, 1682, the King confirmed the declaration by an edict which the Parliament promptly registered. This edict forbade the King's subjects to teach or write anything contrary to the doctrine contained in the declaration and enjoined on all professors of theology to comment on it every year. This order was of exceptional gravity. The faculty of Paris alone, in 1682, counted 753 doctors. The houses of the Sorbonne, Navarre, Cholets, St. Sulpice, and others, and the various communities

according to I Cor. 1:10: That you all speak the same thing, and that there be no schisms among you: and this could not be secured unless any question of faith that may arise be decided by him who presides over the whole Church, so that the whole Church may hold firmly to his decision" (*Summa theol.*, IIa IIae, q. 1, a. 10).

flourishing at Paris and composing the body of the faculty, trained most of the bishops and priests of the Church of France. If the wish of the King and his counsellors had been obeyed, it would have been the end of belief in papal infallibility among the clergy of France. But these had not forgotten that, as St. Thomas says, "it belongs to the sole authority of the Sovereign Pontiff to publish a new edition of the symbol, as do all other matters which concern the whole Church."⁴⁷ The best portion of the priests believed in the infallibility of the pope. Even the Gallican Fleury declares: "In France you can hardly find any regulars who are not persuaded of the infallibility. And not only the religious, but the communities of priests, although without privileges and subject to the bishops, incline to that side as more conformable to piety." The Sorbonne resisted. On May 2, a delegation of the Parliament ordered the registration of the declaration and of the edict. The senior by age, Bétille, enfeebled by advanced years, on whose weakness they had counted, expressed his view by saying simply: *Gratias agimus amplissimas*. In reply to a further injunction, he replied: *Facultas pollicetur obsequium* ("the faculty promises respect"). Then he arose and went out. On June 16, the registrar of the Faculty, ordered to appear in the Parliament, under compulsion registered the declaration at the dictation of the registrar of the court.

Eight doctors were exiled to the provinces by *lettres de cachet*. On June 29 a *lettre de cachet* suppressed the meetings of the Sorbonne. In fine, worn out by all these vexations, the professors of theology finally resigned themselves to comment on the four articles, but they did so in their own way, and some of them even opposed the sense which the assembly intended them to have. Louis XIV, in a letter written in 1713, declared that he had not obliged anyone to maintain the propositions of the clergy of France if these were contrary to his own opinion.

Amid these strifes, public opinion took the side of the inde-

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

pendent clergy. The obsequious bishops and abbots were openly satirized. In 1685 Madame Sévigné, recalling a thesis dedicated to the King, in which he was compared to God, but in such a way that God was the copy, exclaimed: "Too much is too much."

The King took more and more account of the criticisms, as we see from a letter written by the Marquis de Siegnelay to La Reynie: "His Majesty has been informed that several songs have been composed on the affair of the regalia and the Assembly of the Clergy. He directs me to write to you that you should take every pains to discover the authors." ⁴⁸

Reaction of Innocent XI

Innocent XI did not judge, for the present, that a condemnation of the four articles was timely. He merely refused to give canonical investiture to priests promoted to bishoprics if they had taken part in the assembly of 1682. Louis XIV was at pains to propose only such. The Pope remained firm. The result was that in January of 1688 thirty-five sees were vacant.

But at that period a fresh incident embittered the relations of the French court with the papacy. The Catholic ambassadors residing in Rome had gradually extended to the whole district of their residence the right of sanctuary and of immunity enjoyed by the building where they resided. This abuse permitted criminals to evade judicial pursuit. The immunities had become the most serious obstacle to the promotion of peace and to public morals.⁴⁹ Innocent desired to abolish them. He easily obtained the consent of all other rulers. But Louis XIV proudly replied that God had established him to serve as an example to others and not to regulate his conduct by the example of anyone else. His new ambassador, the Marquis de Lavardin, entered Rome insolently with 200 armed men to occupy the Farnese quarter.

⁴⁸ Depping, *Correspondance diplomatique sous le règne de Louis XIV*, II, 571.

⁴⁹ Hanotaux, *Recueil des instructions données aux ambassadeurs*, I, 284.

The Pope excommunicated him.⁵⁰ Louis XIV had Avignon seized and (September 24), in the presence of Père La Chaise his confessor and of Archbishop Harlay of Paris, he issued an order to the Attorney General to lodge an appeal to the future council in regard to all steps taken or to be taken by the Pope against him.

Alexander VIII, who succeeded Innocent XI in August, 1689, not only persisted in refusing the bulls of institution in the cases foreseen by his predecessor, but he accentuated his attitude. By the bull *Inter multiplices* (August 4, 1690) he declared the acts of the Assembly of 1682 null, invalid, and without force. This bull was accompanied with a touching letter, written by the aged Pope on his deathbed. In it he begged the King of France to revoke his decisions. A moment later he expired.

This was the starting point of a relaxation of tension. Louis XIV for some time was desirous of putting an end to the conflict. Colbert's death (1683) and the formation of the League of Augsburg (1686) had increased the embarrassments of his domestic and foreign policy. Moreover, since 1685 the influence of Madame de Maintenon had awakened his religious sentiments. In 1685 Louis XIV chose the Pope to arbitrate between him and the Emperor in the matter of a territorial dispute; and, partly to show his orthodoxy, he hastened the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Negotiations, undertaken in 1690, were continued for two years. The Pope promised to give bulls to the designated bishops who declared that they heartily repented of what they had done at the Assembly of 1682 and rejected what had there been done against the papal power. On September 14, 1693, the King wrote to Innocent XII: "Most Holy Father, I am happy to inform Your Holiness that I have given the necessary orders that the things ordained by my edict of 1682 . . .

⁵⁰ Louis XIV was himself excommunicated on November 18, 1687, by a letter of Innocent XI. But, as requested of the Pope by Louis XIV, the secret of this canonical penalty was strictly kept. See Dubruel, "L'excommunication de Louis XIV," in *Etudes* (December 5, 1913), pp. 608-35.

should not be observed.”⁵¹ And Bossuet, obliged to revise the *Defense de la Declaration*, declared: *Abeat ergo Declaratio quo libuerit!* (“Let the Declaration begone, wherever it wishes!”).⁵²

Organization of the Church of France

Shortly afterward (April, 1695), Louis XIV issued a long edict which deserves to be specially analyzed because it was later applied without appreciable modification at the time of the French Revolution.

This edict regulated the juridical condition of the persons and the goods of the Church, whether from the judiciary or the administrative point of view. From the judiciary point of view it finally consecrated the diminution of the rights and competence of the ecclesiastical tribunals in accordance with a multitude of former ordinances.⁵³ Louis XIV declared that, from the time of the publication of his edict, the competence of ecclesiastical judges would extend only to cases that concerned doctrinal questions, the administration of the sacraments, the observance of the vows of religion, the regulation of salaries due the clergy and employees of the Church, and to Church discipline. Apart from these cases, the civil judge remained the only one competent. The temporal jurisdiction which, since Constantine, had always belonged to churchmen in a measure more or less broad, henceforth was entirely removed from them. As for spiritual jurisdiction, apparently it remained entirely in the ecclesiastical

⁵¹ The text of this letter, formerly disputed, has been published by Artaud de Montor in his *Histoire de Pie VII* (3rd ed.), II, 171.

⁵² These words do not mean that Bossuet had abandoned the Gallican doctrine of the Declaration. Bossuet remained always opposed to the infallibility of the pope; but he held to the indefectibility of the Holy See, understood more and more in a sense favorable to the Roman pontiff.

⁵³ The juridical competence of the ecclesiastical courts was very extensive in the Middle Ages. That extent, reaching its maximum in the thirteenth century, was a benefit for society, as the ecclesiastical judges were the most learned and the most equitable. The new conditions of modern society required a revision of that judicial organization. Unfortunately political passion was injected into the question.

tribunals, and these even had the right to resort, in case of need, to the secular authority for the execution of their sentences.

But we should not forget an important restriction, which the edict of 1695 expressly recalled. It says: "The decisions handed down by Church officials were indeed sanctioned by the civil power, but on condition that the sentence should not be declared abusive by the parliament of appeal. In fact, the King, while forbidding the secular judges to mingle in the religious or disciplinary questions, permitted them to take cognizance of these cases under pretext of abuse; the exception almost destroyed the rule. In the Middle Ages the Church courts had been blamed for encroachment on the domain of civil justice; however, in the eighteenth century the reproach might well be reversed."⁵⁴

However, we should recognize that the regulation of questions of administration was prompted by a broad spirit and accorded to the Church a real independence. The archbishops and bishops will be named by the king, but will be canonically instituted by the pope. Their right is recognized to give their "visa," after inquiry, to persons appointed to benefices by Rome, to visit their diocese or have it visited, to give and to revoke the powers of preachers and of confessors, to regulate whatever concerns the divine service, burials, the good conduct of the curés, both regular and secular. They will also have the right to make visitation of the non-exempt monasteries to remedy abuses, and, if need be, to call in the aid of the civil power to the extent they will judge fitting. The churchwardens must obey their orders. Preceptors, regents, and schoolteachers will be approved by the curés, examined on the catechism by the bishop, and will be subject to dismissal by him.

Lastly, the bishops will have the right to fix the amounts payable for church functions, using proper moderation, to institute or suppress religious feasts at their pleasure and watch over

⁵⁴ Chénon in Lavis and Rambaud, *Hist. générale*, VI, 260.

the administration of the hospitals and establishments of charity.

In short, the distinction of the two powers, the spiritual and the temporal, was carried out in a fair spirit. But the half-conquered Gallicanism left alive in France a doctrine more deeply subversive of the Christian order, a doctrine which, like Gallicanism itself, sprang from a pretended spirit of preservation, from a self-styled return to primitive Christianity, and worked more effectively for the ruin of the Church. We are referring to Jansenism.

CHAPTER XI

Jansenism

Origin of Jansenism

THE middle of the seventeenth century saw the appearance of Jansenism. But its doctrine and spirit have deep roots, which we must study by going back to the middle of the preceding century.

The Jansenist doctrine was formed in the Louvain faculty of theology.

In the sixteenth century, just when the Council of Trent was opening, the celebrated Flemish university, richly endowed by the generosity of Charles V and Philip II, was at the height of its renown. Six thousand students, divided into forty-two colleges, were ardently devoting themselves, under the direction of eminent teachers, to the study of divine and human sciences, particularly to theology. Of all the theological questions, none so deeply stirred the minds of that period as the great problem of the accord of grace with free will. The Protestant heresy, by solving this hard question in a radical fashion, gave it a new timeliness. The two tendencies that had long separated theologians on this point, and forty years later became formulated under the names of Thomism and Molinism, divided teachers and pupils. While the chancellor of the University, Ruard Tapper, took his stand resolutely on the side of human free will, and thus left room to suspect his belief in the universal efficacy of divine grace, the disciples of the Dominican Peter de Soto defended the unlimited power of God's action with so much ardor that their adversaries accused them of bringing in doubt the existence of free will.

Michael Baius (1513–89)

About 1550 Leonard Hasselius, the professor of Sacred Scripture, and Ruard Tapper were delegated to the Council of Trent, to represent the University there. A fervent disciple of de Soto was given Hasselius as assistant. His name was Michel de Bay (Michael Baius). Born in 1513 in a city of Hainaut, he was remarkable for the worthiness of his life as also for his extensive learning. He was of an inquiring mind, industrious, discerning, daring, served by an elegance and facility of speech, but exclusive in his points of view, systematic in his reasonings. Moreover, he was a loyal soul, with a sincere and deep faith. After Hasselius' death at Trent in 1552, Baius was appointed to the vacant professorial chair. In a short time he gathered enthusiastic disciples about him.

Michael Baius clearly announced his twofold aim: to free dogma from all the foreign elements that the Scholasticism of the Middle Ages had introduced into it and that constituted the sole obstacle, he declared, to the conversion of the Protestants; then to study the Catholic doctrine in its true sources, which are Sacred Scripture and the writings of the early Fathers. In fact, basing his views solely on Scripture and the Fathers, especially on the writings of St. Augustine, the daring reformer of theological studies set forth a system which gave to human weakness and the unlimited power of God a larger part than the Scholastics had done, a view which thereby rather closely approached the ideas of Luther.

The following is a summary of his doctrine, such as can be extracted from his various opuscula,¹ and especially from the seventy-nine propositions taken from his works and condemned en bloc by the Holy See. Baius considers man successively as

¹ *De libero hominis arbitrio et ejus potestate, De justitia et justificatione, De sacrificio, De meritis operum, De prima hominis justitia et virtutibus impiorum, De sacramentis in genere*, and others.

follows: 1. in the state of innocent nature, such as he was created by God; 2. in the state of fallen nature, such as original sin made him; 3. in the state of elevated nature, such as the redemption by Christ has rendered him. According to Baius, man, upon coming from the hand of his Creator, possessed a perfect righteousness, which theology has called habitual grace, or supernatural state, because it makes him capable of uniting himself to the divine nature, but which ought rather be called a natural state, because that righteousness was due man's nature. Indeed, man is truly man only when he accomplishes works meritorious for heaven.²

But original sin, that is, according to Baius, concupiscence, enslaving our will internally, and almost ruining the power of our free will, has ruined the whole primitive economy. No doubt the will pure and simple, even determined by an inner force, is a foundation sufficient for moral responsibility, if it is exempt from all outside constraint. But it no longer has power except to turn to evil, or to will goods of a temporal order. Such a state is not in relation with our end. "All the works of infidels are sins, all the virtues of the philosophers are vices."³ Finally, nothing efficacious takes place in the order of salvation except by grace, the supernatural help of God which produces good acts in us, that is, acts inspired by charity. Only these have a power of justification.⁴ Beyond this actual grace, does Baius admit a habitual grace? Does he identify habitual grace with charity? These are questions that he leaves in the shadow, perhaps because he is not interested in them.⁵

What was the genesis of this doctrine? Evidently it comes from a wrong interpretation of certain passages of the Fathers, particularly from certain maxims of St. Augustine. In fact, patristic texts are not wanting in which we find forcibly as-

² Cf. Denzinger, nos. 1021, 1011.

³ *Ibid.*, nos. 1066, 1039, 1025.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 1016.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 1015.

serted, that from the beginning man was called to eternal life, to perfect union with God, and to a special order of morality which alone is proportioned to that sublime end.⁶ Baius' error was that therein he saw a destiny not only in fact but of right. Hence his persistent denial of the supernatural character of the primitive gifts; hence, in his system, the exclusive aptitude of theological charity for procuring for us the moral life or the union with God.⁷ Hence his Pelagian optimism in the psychology of man in the state of innocence, and his Lutheran pessimism in the psychology of fallen man.

The warm conviction with which the new professor set forth his ideas, the apparent logic of his system, the fascination that every new doctrine easily exercises on youth, increased the number of his followers. These were found not only on the benches of the university of Louvain; they might be met also in several schools of the city and the environs. Many houses of the Cordeliers were won to the cause of Baius.

The chancellor, Ruard Tapper, upon returning from the Council of Trent about the middle of 1552, was alarmed at this movement of men's minds. In vain he tried to calm it. In 1558, at his request, the representative of Philip II in the Low Countries ordered Baius to suspend his courses. The next year the Faculty of Paris censured fourteen of his propositions. For a time a certain fear existed that the affair would end in a conflict between the two universities of Paris and Louvain. Diplomacy took a hand in the affair. Cardinal Granvelle, the prime minister of Spain in the Low Countries, entered into negotiations about the question with his brother, the ambassador of Philip II at the French court. In 1561 a brief of Pius IV, calculated to restore peace, urged Baius that in his teaching he should not depart from the manner of speaking employed in the schools. In 1563 Baius and his friend John Hessels were chosen to

⁶ Le Bachelet, art. "Baius" in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II, 46.

⁷ *Ibid.*

represent the university of Louvain at the Council of Trent. Thus the ferment was temporarily calmed. Unfortunately Baius, after giving to the fathers and the theologians of the Council the impression of a learned and pious man,⁸ upon his return to Louvain resumed the teaching of his former doctrines with fresh ardor.

In 1567 Pope Pius V decided to intervene. By his bull *Ex omnibus* (October 1) he condemned en bloc, as temerarious, suspect, erroneous, or heretical, 79 propositions of the Louvain professor. But out of regard for Baius, the Pope did not mention him by name. The confirmation of this condemnation, made two years later, following a new examination requested by Baius, brought about the sincere submission of the famous theologian. In 1575 his colleagues elected him chancellor of the university. This office carried with it that of Inquisitor for Brabant.

Meanwhile some zealous disciples of the master had stirred up a subtle quarrel. In the sentence condemning the errors of Baius, a change in the position of a comma would completely alter the meaning of the condemnation.⁹ Before submitting, the fervid partisans of Baius wished to be officially informed about the authentic position of the comma. A new bull was needed, published by Gregory XIII (January 29, 1579), to put an end to these demands. Father Franciscus Toletus of the Company of Jesus, charged by the Pope with bringing the bull to Louvain and with publishing it there in the name of His Holiness, had the consolation to see Baius submit to the Pope's authority with touching docility. He expressed his praise of the Chancellor in these words: *Nil Baio doctius, nil humilius* ("Baius is second to none in point of learning and humility"). Gregory XIII, too,

⁸ Pallavicini, *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, Bk. XV, chap. 7.

⁹ In the sentence *Quas quidem sententias, quamquam nonnullae aliquo pacto sustineri possent, in sensu ab assertoribus intento damnamus*, if we drop the comma after *possent* and insert a comma after *intento*, Baius escapes the papal condemnation, at least partly.

wished to give the doctor of Louvain a testimony of his great satisfaction by addressing (June 15, 1580) to him a brief full of benevolence.

Nine years later, Michael Baius, at the age of seventy-seven, died in the peace of the Church. His doctrines would soon be taken up again, defended, exaggerated, carried to extreme, by a party whose birth the pious Chancellor had not foreseen and that he certainly would have disavowed with all the strength of his believing soul.¹⁰

Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638)

Baius' immediate successor, Jacques Janson, has only one title to historical remembrance: that he discovered Jansen. Endowed with greater devotion to the Baianist ideas than with aptitude in spreading them, Janson sought, among his hearers, someone who would be the intellectual heir of the master. About 1604 his attention was fixed on a young student whose industrious and retiring habits seemed to promise what he expected. This student was a Fleming, twenty years old, with an awkward bearing, sparkling eyes, a projecting forehead, aquiline nose, and pale complexion. His name was Cornelius Jansen. A cloud of uncertainty hangs over his childhood and youth. According to unreliable report, he was born of poor parents,¹¹ was obliged to earn his living as a carpenter's

¹⁰ A group of theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, usually called Augustinians, their chief representatives being Cardinal Noris, Fulgentius Belleli, and Lorenzo Berti, took up the re-examination of the texts of St. Augustine on which Baius had based his erroneous doctrines. These texts they tried to explain by a different system. They said: "God, as seen and possessed in Himself, is man's natural end, not in the sense that we can attain thereto by our own strength or by natural means, but in the sense that we are led toward that end by an inclination and a desire placed in us by divine Providence." This doctrine aroused much controversy. Benedict XIV had the suspected writings of Noris, Belleli, and Berti examined by two theologians, who rendered a judgment favorable to the accused. See Hurter, *Nomenclator*, III, 3; Le Bachelet in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, II, 92.

¹¹ Rapin, *Hist. du jansénisme*, p. 3.

apprentice, then as a domestic servant; his evenings he devoted to study, having recourse to Protestants, and now to Catholics, in his study of grammar, the humanities, dialectics, and theology. We are told that, uncouth and ill clothed, he presented himself at the Jesuit novitiate, and that he took their rejection of him as a mark of their disdain of him and consequently conceived a deep hatred for the Society of Jesus.¹²

The latest biographer of the father of Jansenism, attempting to reconstruct his life on the basis of original documents, found merely that he was born on October 27, 1585, in a little village of the States of Holland, of a family of poor working people; and that at first he studied in his native district, then at Louvain.¹³ In this city his eagerness in study was equaled only by his enthusiasm for the new ideas propagated by Baius. An illness, brought on by his excessive application to study, obliged him to take a rest. The doctors advised him to go to France for a change of climate. He went to Paris and there developed a close intimacy with a student four years older than himself, Duvergier de Hauranne,¹⁴ who, already well known in society, procured for him the post of tutor in the house of a counselor at court. Hauranne's influence on Jansen was decisive for him in a way different from that of Jacques Janson. Without Duvergier the destiny of Jansen would probably have been quite other. Duvergier, while still quite young, had those characteristic features depicted in the portrait by Philip of Champagne. His face was crisscrossed with wrinkles, his forehead sunken and furrowed.¹⁵ His moral traits corresponded to his physical. Enthusiastic, keen, subtle, rigorous, stubborn, and overflowing with activity, his spirit was as complex as his face.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 2-8; Bayle, *Dict. historique*; Vandenpeereboom, *Jansenius*.

¹³ Vandenpeereboom, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ It has been conjectured that Jansen and Duvergier were already known at Louvain. Cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, I, 279.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 302.

Duvergier was born in 1581 at Bayonne of a rich and noble family. He made his first studies with the Jesuits. Soon he discovered in his Flemish friend a silent discontent. He was not long in discovering the cause. Jansen, who had been accustomed, at the school of the Baianist Janson, to meditate on the great problems of grace and predestination and to examine them in the light of Scripture and of the Fathers, found himself disconcerted upon listening to the Parisian doctors. These latter, under the direction of Chancellor Duval, lectured only on the secondary questions of the relations to be established between the king, the Holy See, and the bishops. In fact, the period was that of the controversies aroused by the Gallicanism of Edmond Richer.

Duvergier took advantage of this state of his friend's soul. Would no one think of taking up again and carrying on to conclusion the great movement of restoration which Baius had begun? Assuredly Paris could be of no help in this matter. But at the foot of the Pyrenees, in an estate of his family, called Champré, Duvergier offered to Jansen a quiet retreat where together they would study the early Fathers, especially St. Augustine, and would undoubtedly succeed in recovering and restoring the doctrine and discipline of the Church in their primitive purity.

Jansen accepted the invitation. That was in 1611. One of the most serious historians of Jansenism, Dom Clémencet, compares their studious retirement to the penitential and fruitful life which St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen followed long before. Jansen, stimulated by his host, there began and continued without interruption the colossal work that he would bring to completion only on his deathbed. We are told that the elder Madame de Hauranne used to say to her son "that he would kill this good Fleming by making him study so hard." ¹⁸

¹⁸ Lancelot declares that he saw, in St. Cyran's house, an old armchair with one arm turned into a writing table. It was in this chair that Jansen studied, almost lived; for he rarely went to bed. Cf. Lancelot, *Mémoires*, I, 103, II, 308.

The object of so much labor was the composition of a work in which he would endeavor to establish, by numerous authentic texts, that the doctrine of Baius was that of the early Fathers, particularly that of St. Augustine. At first the book was going to be called *Baii apologia*; but later it was decided to give it a more general title: *Augustinus, seu doctrina sancti Augustini de humanae naturae sanitate, aegritudine, medicina, adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses*.¹⁷ In the mind of Duvergier this intellectual work was merely one of the elements of the vast reform which he had dreamed of accomplishing in the Church.

His correspondence with Jansen became very active after 1617, when the latter returned to Louvain. It leaves no doubt on the subject. They make use of veiled expressions. A sort of code was adopted. The great project being undertaken was called Pillemot; Jansen was Sulpice, Duvergier de Hauranne was called Rongear or Durillon or Calias; the Jesuits were Chimer or Porris; St. Augustine, Seraphis; and so on. They spoke mysteriously of trees to be planted, of houses to be built, of ships to be equipped. They were wrathful against the Pope. Fear was expressed that Rome would do to Jansen "what she had done to others before everything would be ripe." On January 20, 1622, the author of the *Augustinus* congratulated his friend upon his handling of persons of note. In a letter dated June 2, 1623, we find these significant lines, in which we can glimpse, in its first idea, the whole organization of Port Royal: "People of this sort (the religious) are unusual when they embrace something, and my opinion is that it would be of considerable value if Pillemont were seconded by some such company."¹⁸

Duvergier did more than merely write; he acted. Jansen

¹⁷ Du Chesne, *Hist. du baianisme*, p. 301.

¹⁸ Jansen's letters, seized in 1638 at St. Cyran's house, were deposited at the College de Clérmont in Paris, where the Jesuits kept the originals at the disposition of the public.

might well congratulate him on so well handling persons of note. A desire to win the favor of persons in high places had always been a dominant preoccupation of this man. In 1609 King Henry IV, having jokingly asked some courtiers if, in case of famine, a subject ought to give himself as food to the king rather than let the king die of starvation, Duvergier at once took up his pen and wrote a little work entitled: "A royal question, in which it is proved that a subject may be obliged to preserve the life of the prince at the cost of his own." In this work he seriously solved the case of conscience in the affirmative. We are told that on this occasion Father Coton, the King's confessor, declared that the author of the pamphlet deserved to be a bishop.

Later, in 1617, happening to be at Poitiers, where the Bishop had taken up arms against the Protestants and had defeated them at the head of an armed force, Duvergier published a work with the title: "Apology for Henry de la Rocheposay, against those who say that it is not permitted for ecclesiastics to resort to arms." The Bishop appointed him a canon and, three years later, resigned the abbey of St. Cyran in favor of Duvergier, who thereafter is commonly spoken of as St. Cyran.

St. Cyran, profiting by the Bishop's favor, tried to carry out at Poitiers his plan of reform. His first project was to oblige all the faithful to assist at the parish Mass under pain of mortal sin. But this attempt disturbed the clergy and finally estranged the Bishop. In 1620 St. Cyran left Poitiers for Paris. Soon we see him frequenting the home of Jerome Bignon, the Advocate General, the home of De Gondi, father of Cardinal de Retz, of Berulle, the homes of the elite, of notable persons of the world and of the Church. But what St. Cyran hoped to win to himself and his cause was the entire episcopate. In 1632 the English Jesuits, having had some disputes with the vicar apostolic sent to England, St. Cyran wrote on the subject under the trans-

parent pseudonym of Petrus Aurelius,¹⁹ a series of dissertations in which he maintained the rights of the bishops in such a way as to have almost all of them on his side.²⁰ Cardinal Richelieu himself seems to have been won by the prestige of the learned abbé. In 1633 a violent pamphlet appeared under the title of *Mars Gallicus*. It was directed against the kings of France, the Salic Law, the gift of curing scrofula (king's evil), and especially against Richelieu's foreign policy. The Cardinal asked St. Cyran to reply. But the author of the anti-French satire was none other than Jansen, who turned for a moment from his great patristic labors to write as a good subject of the King of Spain.

The *Mars Gallicus* brought its author the bishopric of Ypres. Jansen was consecrated on October 28, 1636. "Thus was rewarded at the price of the altar and of the blood of Jesus Christ a satire so scandalous."²¹ On the other hand, we are told that St. Cyran, by not accepting Richelieu's proposal, incurred the Cardinal's resentment.²² Furthermore, as his subversive ideas came to light, pious priests who had been seduced by the extent of his learning and the austerity of his life, withdrew from him. Vincent de Paul, whom he had met at the house of Berulle, heard him say one day: "God has given me to understand that we have had no Church for the past five or six centuries." Another time he declared in the presence of Father de Condren: "The Council of Trent was most of all a political assembly. . . . St. Thomas has ruined real theology." Father Vincent and Father de Condren broke off relations with him and warned their friends against him. Soon Richelieu opened his eyes; or at least his confidant, Father Joseph, enlightened

¹⁹ This name, Aurelius, was not selected by chance. It was suited to the future title of the work (the *Augustinus*) which Jansen was writing. St. Augustine's name was Aurelius Augustinus.

²⁰ Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, I, 315.

²¹ Rapin, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

²² *Ibid.*

him. The discerning Capuchin, during one of his absences, had charged St. Cyran with the direction of a certain convent of sisters. On his return he noticed in the community the evidence of a suspicious spiritual influence, and pointed out the danger to the Cardinal.

But St. Cyran was not a man to let himself be disconcerted by this failure. The resources of that extraordinary mind were boundless. Abandoned among the clergy by the eminent men on whom he had counted, he turned to the lay world and in a short time acquired a dominant influence there.

Arnauld d'Andilly

In 1620, while St. Cyran was living at Poitiers, a pious lady, attracted to his plans of reform, introduced him to one of her brothers, an auditor in the royal council of the Treasury. A close friendship soon was formed between the ecclesiastic and the courtier. Arnauld was the accomplished type of man of the world, amiable, affable, well known in all ranks of society, plain or elegant according to circumstances. A guiding principle of his life, one that he strongly recommended to his children, was to make friends of people in all stations of life, from the least clerk in the royal household to the commander-in-chief. He made use of his standing among the great to render service to the lowly, and thus he acquired an almost universal popularity.

This Robert Arnauld d'Andilly was the oldest of twenty children of Antoine Arnauld,²³ the renowned lawyer who was well remembered for his famous speech, delivered in 1594 in the

²³ Of these twenty children, only ten survived so as to take a part in Jansenism. Arnauld d'Andilly had three brothers: the abbot of St. Nicholas, born in 1597, who became bishop of Angers; Simon Arnauld, born in 1603, and Antoine Arnauld, the "Great Arnauld," born in 1612. He had six sisters, who were all nuns at Port Royal: Madame Lemaitre, in religion Sister Catherine of Genoa or of St. John, born in 1590; Mother Angélique, born in 1591; Mother Agnes, born in 1593; Sister Anne Eugénie, born in 1594; Sister Marie Claire, born in 1600; Sister Madeleine St. Christine, born in 1607.

name of the University against the Jesuits. The Arnauld family was connected with the greatest names of France, such as Créquai and Montmorency. Consequently its members preserved a certain pride of bearing. They belonged to the nobility of the robe, counting especially parliamentarians and lawyers, among whom the spirit of formalism and pettifoggery, along with a solemn rigidity, was perpetuated. Thus we find a Calvinist harshness in this family, in which many ancestors had embraced the Protestant heresy.

When he first met Abbé St. Cyran, Arnauld d'Andilly was scarcely thirty-one years old; he was then in the glory of his worldly fame. This "friend of mankind" was outwardly the most affable and amiable of men.

St. Cyran saw at once the advantage he might derive, for the realization of his plan, from the personal qualities and the association of such a friend. The letter which he wrote on September 25, 1620, to Arnauld contains the warmest declaration of friendship that we can read anywhere. He says that he is devoted to Arnauld, not by imagination or by affection or by letter or by the spoken word: all that would be less than what he feels in his heart.²⁴

Presently we shall see how the dreams of St. Cyran were fulfilled. D'Andilly's friendship put him in touch with the most distinguished society of the kingdom; and the whole family of the Arnaulds put itself at the service of his ideas with complete devotion.

Mother Angélique (1591-1661)

In that year 1620 Robert Arnauld d'Andilly, and all his circle with him, were proud of the reforms which the second daughter of Antoine Arnauld, Jacqueline by name but better known as

²⁴ Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-102.

Mother Angélique,²⁵ had just brought about in the two celebrated abbeys of Port Royal and Maubuisson.

The Abbess of Port Royal and Maubuisson had embraced the religious life at an early age. In fact, she was only eight years old when, in 1599, her father and her maternal grandfather, solicited for her from King Henry IV and from Pope Clement VIII the benefice of an abbey. The papal bull, however, was obtained only with the help of a deception by which the Holy See was misinformed about the child's age.²⁶ Later on Mother Angélique herself said: "This maneuver made me cursed in the eyes of God."²⁷ The child, having entered the convent out of obedience to her father, gave no sign of a religious vocation. The abbey of Maubuisson, where she made her novitiate, was governed by Madame Jacqueline d'Estrées. We can well fancy what must have been the habitual dissipation in the convent, when we recall that the sister of the Abbess, the ill-famed Gabrielle d'Estrées, made complaint about the scandals of that convent. The Port Royal convent, where Angélique Arnauld became abbess in 1602 at the age of eleven, did not deserve any better reputation. The so-called religious life being led there consisted in reading fashionable novels, receiving visits, amusing themselves, on feast days hearing a more or less fantastic homily by a Cistercian student.

But in 1607 the young Abbess, a prey to ennui and sickness, retired for a while to her family home for the care of her health. She intended not to return to the convent. But her father, entering abruptly into her room, made her sign, by surprise and by duress, a paper in which she declared that she ratified the vows made by her eight years before. The religious respect that she had for her father's authority made her accept as a

²⁵ On the day of her confirmation she took the name Angélique out of deference for her abbess, who was called Angélique d'Estrées.

²⁶ The petition asked an abbey for "Angélique Arnauld, a nun of seventeen years."

²⁷ *Mémoires de Port-Royal*, II, 264.

duty the unwelcome task which had frightened her until then. Angélique Arnauld was in many respects a choice soul. St. Francis de Sales, when he met her for the first time thirteen years later, admired her extraordinary gifts. The austerity of her piety revolted at the sight of so much worldliness in the convent atmosphere. Unfortunately her spirit of independence, which she had from the Arnaulds, with the blood of their stock, led her to count too much on her own strength to carry out a needed reform. The excess of austerity and the excess of independence, which marked Mother Angélique's whole life and thereby all Jansenism, was in evidence from the outset of her rule.

On March 25, 1605, a date carefully preserved in the history of Port Royal, while a Franciscan, Father Basil, was speaking in the convent about the abasements of the Son of God, Angélique felt herself suddenly altogether changed. From that moment she devoted herself utterly to the reform of the convent. Moreover, she began with her own reform. We see her caring for the repulsive sore of a novice, retiring at night to an attic to pray there for whole hours. Every worldly trace disappeared from her religious dress as abbess; a coarse woolen garment scratched her wrist. By her exhortations and example she succeeded in forming a nucleus of solid religious, who abandoned their habits of elegance, of worldly life, of good cheer in food, of vanity. One of the reforms that was hardest for her was the re-establishing of the cloister. In this undertaking she had against her, not only the opposition of her religious, but that of her own family. But she overcame every obstacle. The history of Port Royal preserves the memory of a certain famous day, as a country keeps the memory of the great victories that founded it; this was the Day of the Grille. Antoine Arnauld, accompanied by several members of his family, had come to see his daughter at Port Royal. The Abbess refused to receive them within the cloister of the convent. Through the

grille the Arnauld family begged, threatened. Angélique was inflexible. In short, after a prolonged strife all agreed to go to the parlor, where the Abbess, exhausted by so many emotions, fell to the floor unconscious. The father, vanquished by so much energy which he admired, at length gave in; thereafter he became his daughter's most devoted auxiliary in the work of reform.

By her influence, so far as possible Angélique profited by the fault committed in the matter of her appointment as abbess. She induced her father to write to Pope Paul V to avow her culpable weakness and to implore his pardon. The Supreme Pontiff, learning of the wise reform introduced by Mother Angélique, granted the bulls and regularized the situation of the young Abbess. The reform was accomplished. All the usages of the time of St. Bernard flourished again. At two o'clock in the morning the pious house echoed with the chant of Matins. The money saved by forgoing superfluities was distributed to the poor of the neighborhood. The religious habit of the nuns of Cîteaux reappeared in all its simplicity: a serge dress, white tunic, and black veil;²⁸ every superfluous ornament was banished. In this praiseworthy work of reform, sometimes the bounds of discretion were exceeded. Some of the religious passed weeks, even whole months, without speaking a single word. A novice, inadvertently sent into an abandoned cell, encumbered with rubbish, remained there until the mistake was noticed. Another novice, upon returning from an adoration of the cross, not finding her shoes, let several days go by rather than break the silence. The dauntless superior was a chief ruling by her ascendancy rather than a mother governing by affection. When her religious were ill, she herself was the one who bled them, even five or six times in two days. Through the grille she rendered the same service to the people of the

²⁸ To this was later added the scapular of the Blessed Sacrament, bearing a red cross.

neighborhood, who admired the prompt and confident way this abbess handled the lancet and the bistoury.

The city and the court soon learned of the wonders accomplished by this astonishing sister of D'Andilly. The Marquis of Sablé, the Princess de Guémené, the Duchess de Liancourt, all came to make retreats at Port Royal. They did not always go forth converted. "Alas," said the Marquis de Sablé, who was worldly to her last breath, "it requires a grace to leave the world; but two graces are needed to hate it." The ascendance of the young Abbess was exercised fully in her family. Antoine Arnauld, conquered on the Day of the Grille, placed his experience in affairs at the service of the community. Five of his daughters, six of his nieces, and even his wife, one after the other, placed themselves under the guidance of Mother Angélique. Catherine, the eldest, after a most unfortunate marriage to M. Le Maître, there led a life of silence, piety, and of charity toward the poor. Anne Eugénie, at first worldly, elegant, and passionately fond of all pleasures, there relished the delights of the contemplative life. Marie Claire, the gentlest and most docile of the daughters, there underwent without complaint all the humiliations by which the strong-minded superior thought she ought to try her sister's virtue. Agnes, an ardent soul, whose mystical transports needed an attentive control, engaged in those strange meditations that soon formed the Rosary of the Blessed Sacrament.

Reports of the Port Royal reform reached the ears of Louis XIII. There was an abbey which the pious monarch resolved to lead back to its primitive observance; it was Maubuisson, which Henry IV had had the weakness to entrust to the sister of Gabrielle d'Estrées. Neither the words of the abbot of Cîteaux, M. Boucherat, the ecclesiastical superior of the Abbess, nor the supplications of Archbishop Sourdis of Bordeaux were able to obtain from Madame Angélique d'Estrées a beginning of reform. The Abbess of Port Royal, who knew

Maubuisson, since she there spent the first years of her religious life, seemed to be the only one who could realize the King's desires. She gladly accepted the formidable mission.

The memoirs and letters of the time tell of the episodes, at times tragic, at times comical, of the strife that ensued between the two women. The King's commissioner, when he presented himself at the abbey, was seized and beaten by the valets of the Abbess. Then, on February 3, 1618, the royal archers forcibly seized the Abbess of Maubuisson and brought her to the Penitent Daughters of Paris. Angélique Arnauld then entered the abbey, choosing for her cell a garret close to a nauseous sewer, speaking, preaching, conjuring the sisters "to tear their breasts asunder." She won a certain number of them. Finally Angélique d'Estrées, escaping from her prison, reappeared (September 6, 1619) at six o'clock in the morning, in the choir of the chapel and claimed her stall of superior. Then the struggle was carried on within the convent until the day when 500 archers besieged the convent and took it by assault. Mother Angélique again took possession with bells ringing and torches burning, at the head of a cortege composed of all the clergy of the city and a large number of the faithful accompanying them, carrying candles in the hand.²⁹

The reform of Maubuisson then took place as did that of Port Royal, by the same means and with the same results. At that period, Mother Angélique had the good fortune of a priceless spiritual guidance. From 1618 to 1622 St. Francis de Sales was her spiritual director.³⁰ Who can say what might have been accomplished for the good of the Church by the incomparable strength of that soul if it had been regulated by the wisdom of the Bishop of Geneva? But the correspondence of the Abbess

²⁹ On Maubuisson's reform, see Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, I, 78-81, 190-202; Monlaub, *Angélique Arnauld*, pp. 135-57.

³⁰ In the reform of the convents of Port Royal and of Maubuisson, Mother Angélique had taken the advice of three religious: Father Archangel, a Capuchin, Father Suffren, a Jesuit, and Father Eustache de Saint-Paul, a Feuillant.

with the holy Bishop shows her capital defect. At the very outset Francis de Sales saw the weak side of that soul and the remedies that would be useful for it. "Ceaselessly animate your humble courage and your humility and the desire to be humble. Animate them with trust in God. . . . Let all your conversation be marked with sincerity, gentleness, and cheerfulness."³¹ . . . Gradually tame the vivacity of your spirit to patience, sweetness, and affability."³² In his letter of February 4, 1620, the saint bantered her with much wit and gentleness about the displeasure she experienced at being called "my daughter" by her confessor, instead of "my mother." Under the good influence of Francis de Sales, humility seemed to be getting the better of haughtiness, simplicity seemed to be overcoming the entanglements of pride.³³ She expressed a desire to resign from her office and retire to the Visitation and there lead the hidden life of a humble religious. The holy director hesitated to decide. Later on he wrote to the Jesuit Father Binet: "I dodged so far as I could. I saw that this desire was extraordinary; but I also saw an extraordinary heart. I saw the inclination of that heart to command; but I saw that it was for the purpose of overcoming this inclination that she wished to bind herself to obedience." The matter dragged on, and the holy Bishop died on December 28, 1622, leaving the Abbess of Port Royal without direction and guidance.

Proud and dominating instincts then too often gave themselves free rein in that soul. In 1625, when the new abbot of Cîteaux, Father de Nivelles, disapproved one of her projects, the foundation of Port Royal of Paris,³⁴ she obtained, by certain solicitations and maneuvers, from Urban VIII (1627) a bull freeing it from the jurisdiction of Cîteaux. Then she drew up against the whole Order of Cistercians a long indict-

³¹ Letter of September 11, 1619; Migne, V, 1170.

³² Letter of September 12, 1619; Migne, V, 1175.

³³ *Ibid.*, col. 1224.

³⁴ Letter of November 11, 1621; Migne, V, 1335.

ment which she charged the lawyer Jerome Bignon to read in a plenary session of the Parliament of Paris. Three years later, in 1629, after resigning as abbess of Port Royal, she speaks, in a letter, of the regime that succeeded hers in terms that show dissatisfaction and bitterness.³⁵ "As soon as I had quit my office, Mother Genevieve changed the whole order of that house. . . . In the church, quantities of perfume, plaited linens and bouquets. . . . Everyone is asked to come there and preach . . . sometimes a Jesuit, as Father Binet. . . . Along with all this, extraordinary austerities."³⁶

"Pure as angels and proud as devils," was the comment which thirty-five years later M. de Péréfixe made about the religious of Port Royal. Mother Angélique already began to justify this remark.³⁷

St. Cyran and Port Royal

Ever since 1620, the date of his close association with Arnauld d'Andilly, St. Cyran had closely followed the events

³⁵ The superior had left Maubuisson in 1623 and had returned to Port Royal des Champs.

³⁶ *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Port-Royal* (1742), I, 333.

³⁷ It was in this year 1630 that the following incident took place. A young woman, coming to see a nun of Port Royal of Paris, met the Mother Abbess at the grille. Angélique relates: "I was seized with so violent a movement that I said to her that she would be lost in the world, that she must enter the house at that very hour, although she had not come for that purpose, that she must do violence to herself."

"I experienced a horrible anguish," continues the young woman, later Sister Pineau, "and I kept saying: 'O God, grant me the grace to do my will and not thine,' not realizing what I was saying.

"'At this moment you must enter,' insisted Madame; 'God wills that you be a nun.'

"Standing before the grille, I grasped the iron bars with both hands to keep from falling. Grief and repugnance made me strike my head against the bars, rather sharply without feeling it.

"'I wish you to go to the door. I am going there to receive you. You must not deliberate longer.'"

"Thus spoke Madame; and I went there like a criminal being led to execution, having no consolation but the thought of approaching death. She opened the door. I threw myself at her feet, bursting into tears. The next night I was taken with a fever, and I did not recover for six weeks." (Quoted by Monlaub, *op. cit.*, p. 212).

of Port Royal. In 1621 he ventured to visit Mother Agnes at Port Royal des Champs. On July 4, 1623, he wrote to Mother Angélique to congratulate her on her management at Maubuisson. Duvergier de Hauranne had shortly before received the famous letter of June 2, in which Jansen, after recalling the power of the religious orders, added: "It would be of considerable value if Pillemont were seconded by some such company." Pillemont's organization already existed. Port Royal would be its core; the high society into which Arnauld d'Andilly had introduced St. Cyran would supply the framework. Mother Angélique writes: "M. de St. Cyran took the trouble to write to me to thank me as if he were the father of all these daughters; from that hour God gave him charity toward me." The relations of St. Cyran with the superior of Port Royal remained for several years of a superficial sort. He was not accustomed to push himself forward of his own accord. He always had to be urged before he would enter into any affair. But once entered, he did not withdraw. This, at any rate, is the view of Sainte-Beuve.³⁸

The relations became closer only in 1630, on the occasion of a little mystical writing composed by one of Mother Angélique's sisters. It bore the title, *The Secret Rosary of the Blessed Sacrament*. It was a meditation in sixteen points in honor of the sixteen centuries that had passed since the Savior's death. Sixteen attributes of Christ's divinity are adored: the inaccessibility, the incomprehensibility, the incommunicability, the boundlessness, etc.; in short, all the attributes capable of showing us the Savior as an inaccessible Master, not any attribute that leads us to regard Him as a father and a friend.

St. Cyran, consulted by Mother Angélique, read and reread the little writing. He considered that nothing was better calculated to transfer to the practical domain the lofty theological speculations which he was preparing for publication.

³⁸ *Port-Royal*, I, 331.

He had *The Secret Rosary* approved by Jansen and by several other doctors of Louvain. When a commission of Sorbonne doctors condemned the book as "containing many extravagances, impertinences, errors, and impieties," St. Cyran took up the defense of the writing and made a commentary on it.

This active intervention of Duvergier de Hauranne in the work of Port Royal brought him into relation with M. Zamet, bishop of Langres, who was then working, in concert with Mother Angélique, to found an Institute with the special aim of adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. *The Secret Rosary* would be a sort of mystic program for it.

Sebastian Zamet, bishop of Langres, had earlier, at the court of Marie de Medici, led the life of a worldly priest. A serious illness turned his soul to God. Thereafter his conduct was that of an exemplary priest, and all his efforts tended to spread about him a religious reform. The Jansenists later attacked his spirituality. But he was held in high esteem by the most worthy personages of the seventeenth century: Father Condren, Cardinal Berulle, St. Francis de Sales, and Father Olier. This esteem was a guaranty of the soundness of his faith and the purity of his zeal.³⁹ Impressed by the learning and austerity of St. Cyran, he associated him in the new work. When, in May, 1633, the house of the Blessed Sacrament opened in Paris, with the blessing of De Gondy, Father Zamet welcomed St. Cyran as a helper and a friend. For two whole years the Abbé merely gave conferences at the grille. Preaching penance and recalling the times of austerity of the early Church, he gradually undermined the spirituality of the Bishop of Langres. Often he made an abusive application of a maxim which he said he learned from St. Francis de Sales, but which was not a maxim of that saint, at least not in the sense

³⁹ Sainte-Beuve, in his *Port-Royal*, has been too much influenced by the prejudices and bitterness of the Jansenists with regard to Zamet. The pages concerning the Bishop of Langres are among the most faulty of his great work.

which St. Cyran gave to it: "Out of ten thousand priests, you will scarcely find one good one."⁴⁰ And he intimated that the good one was not the Bishop of Langres. The perfection that he preached appeared to be placed on an austere summit, hard to reach, reserved to a few choice souls. Mother Angélique embraced these doctrines passionately. The formidable nature of the austerities was but an additional attraction for her. The arduous difficulties of the ascent enraptured her. For the destiny of that strong soul was to escape the reefs of lower temptations and to be broken to pieces by seeking to reach the summits which she thought she could see.⁴¹ She drew her daughters after her. Bishop Zamet, after passing a few months in his diocese, upon his return found the community transformed. The sisters no longer went to communion or to confession. Prostrate on the floor of the chapel, as far away as possible from the Blessed Sacrament, to adore it with the more respect, they rose up only to grieve over the laxity of the times and to appeal to the ancient discipline of early times. When the Bishop of Langres, superior of the community, wished to have them return to the former practices, the Abbess was stubbornly immovable. St. Cyran, who for some time had been awaiting this conflict, then appeared and obliged the nuns to decide between the Bishop of Langres and him. He did not intervene until he was sure to succeed. Without consulting any of her ecclesiastical superiors, Mother Angélique summoned Mother Genevieve, installed her in her place as abbess and, by the very carriage what had brought her, departed for Port Royal. There the direction of St. Cyran was exercised now without any constraint.

Port Royal was won. The center of action desired by Jansen was found and founded. But St. Cyran's ambition went further. He wished to group about this center people of the

⁴⁰ Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, pp. 275, 446.

⁴¹ Monlaure, *Angélique Arnauld*, p. 244; Prunel, *Sebastien Zamet*.

world whose good will had been won by the relations of D'Andilly. Under his direction they would form a sort of militant company, capable of defending the cause of Jansenism against the Society of Jesus itself. The institution of the hermits of Port Royal realized this dream.

The first one whom the Abbé succeeded in attracting to Port Royal was Antoine Le Maître, famous lawyer, nephew of Mother Angélique Arnauld.⁴² Le Maître had entertained some thought of marrying. But at the first mention of this intention, Mother Agnes, his aunt, wrote to him, saying: "My dear nephew, I will henceforth love you with a very ordinary affection, since you will be in a condition very common."⁴³ He gave up the idea of marriage. Shortly after his mother's death, St. Cyran persuaded him to abandon the bar. At the age of thirty he retired to Port Royal, where he engaged in the lowliest labors of the field. You might have seen him digging or reaping, performing the most painful labors, in the spirit of penance. He never became a priest; but he exercised a great influence at Port Royal. He it was who turned Racine from the theater.

Soon we see about him Simon Le Maître de Séricourt, the younger brother of Antoine, who had intended to become a Carthusian and who was persuaded by M. de Barcos, nephew of St. Cyran, that the Carthusian rule left too much to the individual's choice; Claude Lancelot, the future author of the *Racines grecques*, who later rendered so much service to "the little schools" of Port Royal; Antoine Singlin, a former disciple of St. Vincent de Paul, who would become the great orator of the Jansenist party; M. de La Rivière, cousin of Duke de Saint-Simon, who became forest warden and at his leisure hours translated the works of St. Theresa; M. de la Petitière, a former officer of Richelieu's Guards, who made shoes for the

⁴² He was the son of Isaac Le Maître de Saci, who married Catherine, the oldest daughter of Antoine Arnauld. The name Saci is merely the anagram of Isaac. To Isaac Le Maître de Saci we owe the famous translation of the Bible, called the Saci Bible.

⁴³ Letter of June 11, 1634, quoted by Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, I, 375.

nuns; M. Hamon, physician, who became the doctor of the community. All these men, whether coming from the middle class or from the upper classes, laymen or priests, had a sort of worship of Mother Angélique. When she used to go to visit the hermits, the bells were rung and sometimes bonfires were lighted.

St. Cyran now had the Company he had dreamed of. He strove to infuse his own spirit into it. St. Vincent de Paul relates one of his tactics: "I have heard it said that M. de St. Cyran would declare certain truths to a group of persons capable of accepting them, and then, passing to another room, would say the contrary to other persons not so disposed. He held that our Lord acted in this way and he ordered the like method to be used." As to his doctrine, we can sift it out from what we have already seen of his writings and his acts: a dogma of despair, resting on belief in predestination, in the servitude of the will, and in the small number of the elect; an inhuman morality by force of austerity, proscribing poetry, disparaging marriage, repressing all family affection, all natural inclinations; a liturgy without splendor, adopting from the first centuries their most severe customs; public penance, obligatory High Mass, and so on; ecclesiastical discipline reduced in its most essential elements: namely, the authority of the pope, whose decisions were disputed, that of the bishops, whose authority was lost by a single grave sin;⁴⁴ in short, a semi-Protestantism. In fact, a real bond existed between the internal Christian inspiration of St. Cyran and that of the leading Reformers: for all of them a faith in the word of God was based less on the tradition of the Church than on the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Both St. Cyran and the Reformers presupposed an interruption of tradition, a radical corruption

⁴⁴ In his *Petrus Aurelius*, St. Cyran held that a single sin against chastity completely deprived a bishop of his power.

and a very early one in the Catholic Church.⁴⁵ Furthermore, St. Cyran openly declared that he held as true the thought of Calvin, merely rejecting its awkward formulation.⁴⁶

We are here face to face with a real sect, closely resembling Protestantism, but not wishing to separate from the Catholic Church. This sect had its leader, St. Cyran; its center of action, Port Royal; its friendly relations with high society by the hermits and the ladies of high society who made retreats there. It had its doctrine, a sort of Calvinism; it had its doctor, who was spoken of in tones of mystery and whose book was impatiently awaited, Jansen. Such an organization was of a sort to constitute little by little, like French Protestantism, a peril for the state. A man as discerning as Richelieu could not ignore or disdain this peril. The Cardinal ordered an inquiry. Zamet, Condren, Vincent de Paul, De Caulet, and Chancellor Séguier were questioned. Several depositions, notably that of De Caulet, were overwhelming in condemnation of the party.⁴⁷ St. Cyran was represented as a revolutionary, exercising an absolute authority over his entourage, and determined to upset the Church on the pretext of reforming it. Richelieu apparently remained impassive and left for Compiègne with the court. But on May 15, 1638, when Péréfixe, then tutor of the Dauphin and later archbishop of Paris, entered the Cardinal's room, the latter said to him: "Beaumont, today I have done something that will stir up a cry against me: by order of the King, I have had Abbé St. Cyran arrested. Scholars and some well-intentioned men will perhaps raise a disturbance. Nevertheless I am confident that I have rendered a service to the state and to the Church. Many evils would have been avoided if they had imprisoned Luther and Calvin as soon as they began to dogmatize."

⁴⁵ Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, III, 619.

⁴⁶ *Calvinus bene sensit, male locutus est*, declared St. Cyran to St. Vincent de Paul.

⁴⁷ Cf. Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, I, 538.

That morning, at five o'clock, an officer of the guard had arrested Abbé de St. Cyran and brought him to the castle of Vincennes.⁴⁸

The *Augustinus*

Eight days before St. Cyran's arrest, Jansen was dead. In that bishopric of Ypres, to which he was promoted in 1636, he had just put the last stroke to his great work, when, at the beginning of May, 1638, he was stricken with a mysterious disease. The doctors diagnosed it as the plague or anthrax. No epidemic of this sort was then prevalent in the district. Some have supposed that he had touched some old infected documents in the archives. Others conjecture that his feverish activity in his eagerness to finish his work had "fired his blood."⁴⁹ The patient's condition was soon considered hopeless. He made his will, by which he charged his chaplain and his two friends, Fromont and Calénus, to publish the *Augustinus*. He said: "I believe that nothing in it can be altered without great difficulty. But if the Holy See wishes any change to be made, I am an obedient and submissive son of that Church in whose bosom I have always lived even unto this deathbed." He then made a general confession to his chaplain and, after receiving Viaticum and extreme unction, rendered his soul to God. He was fifty-three years old and had governed the Church of Ypres for eighteen months.⁵⁰

The friends of St. Cyran had not told him of the death of Jansen until they were assured of the completion of the *Augus-*

⁴⁸ Hermant, *Mémoires*, I, 81. Hermant attributes St. Cyran's arrest to his opinion about attrition, which Duvergier said was insufficient for the pardon of sins, even when accompanied by confession. He also surmises that Father Joseph's "jealousy" over St. Cyran's influence with the nuns of Valvary may have brought about his imprisonment. Both of these explanations are unlikely and do not at all accord with the character of Cardinal Richelieu and of Father Joseph.

⁴⁹ Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, II, 93.

⁵⁰ Hermant, *op. cit.*, I, 105; Rapin, *Histoire du jansénisme*, p. 369.

tinus. At one and the same time the Abbé heard the bad news and learned of the only consolation that could moderate it for him. The testamentary executors promptly had the work printed, but in secret and without submitting it in any way to the Holy See. The work so impatiently awaited at Port Royal appeared at Louvain in 1640, then in 1641 at Paris,⁵¹ and finally at Rouen. The success of these three folio volumes was prodigious. In September, 1640, they were on sale at the fair of Frankfort. Guy-Patin wrote: "This book was received with great esteem among reputable men." One of the first copies off the press was brought to the prisoner of Vincennes, who declared: "After St. Paul and St. Augustine, Jansen stands as the third of those who have spoken divinely of grace. . . . The *Augustinus* will be the book of devotion of the last times; this book will endure as long as the Church." These words of "the confessor of the faith" were repeated and spread. The enemies of the Jesuits, the parliamentarians, were eager to read the volume so highly recommended by St. Cyran.

The crude and ponderous work that was so eagerly devoured comprises three parts. The first part, forming an historical exposition, endeavored to establish a logical continuity between the doctrine of the Pelagians, that of the Semipelagians, and that of the Jesuits. The second part, intended to be a study of supernatural psychology, insisted on the two extreme states of man: almost a god before his fall; after his fall, almost a demon. The third part contained dogmatic and moral conclusions: man, radically evil of himself and unable to do anything good except by the grace of God, finds himself placed between two attractions, the evil and the good, and these necessarily draw him either toward the evil or toward the good, according to their predominance, eternally decreed by the good pleasure of God.

This obscured Baianism, or, if you prefer, this moderated

⁵¹ Hermant, p. 109.

Protestantism,⁵² was set forth in a Latin often insipid and inelegant, although not devoid of a certain energy. Nevertheless persons who prided themselves on following the movement of ideas read the *Augustinus* and, to go back to the sources, read the works of St. Augustine. Madame de Sevigné took delight in reading St. Augustine's treatises on predestination and on the gift of perseverance; she valued his doctrine on the sovereign will of God, she advised M. de Coulanges to read the treatise *De vera religione*, and even expressed her opinion of St. Augustine's Jansenism.

But Jansen's opponents were able to procure copies of the printed pages as fast as they came off the press. The publication of the book found them ready. As early as March 22, 1641, a Jesuit father at Louvain sustained the thesis that the doctrine of the *Augustinus* was contrary to the definitions of the Council of Trent, and was in agreement with propositions condemned by Pius V and Gregory XIII.⁵³ Other theses followed. The followers of the Bishop of Ypres replied. At first the Pope was unwilling to see in these disputes anything more than an infraction of Paul V's decree which, in 1607, forbade the publication of any writing on the controverted questions of grace. On August 1, 1641, a decree of the Inquisition forbade the printing of Jansen's book and that of the theses sustained by the Jesuits.⁵⁴

⁵² According to Jansen, man before original sin was almost an angel. Enveloped and sustained by supernatural grace, he cooperated therewith with all his strength. We might say that the psychology of man in the state of innocence, according to Jansen, was Molinist. Baius absorbed the supernatural in the natural. Jansen preserved the two orders by exalting the action of grace to the supreme degree. But then came the Fall. It was lamentable. By this impetuous fall from the summit where grace had raised him, man ruined himself, lost all his powers. No liberty was left, no spontaneity. Baius preserved the shadow of it. Jansen kept the name of free will, but denied its reality. A decree of the Redeemer will indeed redeem the world, but that decree will reach only the small number of the predestined. They dared not say, like Luther, that He depraves the others, but they declare that He abandons them in the mass of perdition, *massa perditionis*. See Paquier, *Le Jansenisme*, pp. 121-58.

⁵³ Hermant, I, 137; Rapin, p. 433.

⁵⁴ Hermant, I, 140; Rapin, p. 437.

The friends of Jansen rejoiced: the opinions of Jansen and those of the Jesuits seemed to be placed on the same plane. In a solemn service celebrated at Louvain for the anniversary of Jansen's death, a Premonstratensian delivered a funeral oration which was simply a pompous eulogy of the Bishop of Ypres and a series of invectives against the theologians of the Company of Jesus.⁵⁵ On the other hand, Cardinal Richelieu, unfavorably impressed by the agitation which the *Augustinus* produced at Paris, urged the Pope to condemn the book.⁵⁶ At Richelieu's invitation the theological lecturer of Paris, Isaac Habert, preached at Notre Dame against the doctrines of Jansen and prepared public opinion to receive a papal condemnation with a thorough knowledge of the case and with respect. The Pope grasped that the controversy went beyond the limits of the earlier theological disputes which were the concern of the Congregation De Auxiliis. It was the Jansenists' turn to tremble. At the solicitation of D'Andilly, Liancourt, and a certain person of dubious conduct who was mixed up in all the intrigues of the court, by name Chavigny, the prisoner of the Vincennes castle had signed a letter intended for the eyes of the Cardinal, a letter that was a sort of apology of his doctrines.⁵⁷

The Jansenist Fontaine in his *Mémoires* relates: "Of a sudden God seemed to awaken from a deep sleep to render justice to those who cried to Him night and day." The event to which the Port Royal annalist refers was the death of the terrible Cardinal Richelieu, which occurred on December 4, 1642. A month later, St. Cyran, still in prison but on the point of leaving it, wrote this militant letter: "*Tempus tacendi et tempus loquendi*. The time to speak has come. I would be guilty of a crime to keep silent now. . . . The time for hesitation has passed. Even though we should all perish and make the great-

⁵⁵ Rapin, p. 437.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Sainte-Beuve says: "We admit that the great servant of God had a moment of weakness" (*Port-Royal*, II, 19).

est uproar that was ever heard, we must no longer let the sermons (of M. Habert) pass without replying to all the leaders in particular. Silence or dissimulation must no longer be employed for fear of injuring my fame."

Six days later St. Cyran was free.⁵⁸ His return to Port Royal was a triumphal celebration. He again took up his lodging in the Faubourg St. Jacques, not far from his friends. The great ones, the ladies of high station, prompted by Arnauld d'Andilly, came in throngs to visit him. D'Andilly, before whom all doors opened, presented St. Cyran to the queen mother, Anne of Austria, as "the greatest saint and the most learned doctor of modern times." This move was calculated to overawe. Richelieu was no longer to be feared; Mazarin was busy with something else. Report had it that Pope Urban VIII had drawn up a bull condemning the *Augustinus*. The rumor was true. But well known was the weakness of Cardinal Barberini, the Pope's nephew, who was conducting affairs, and who, altogether concerned with the matter of his uncle's health, wished above everything else to avoid giving him cause for violent emotions. Then threats were used. A hint was given out that a great trouble would be stirred up. Some said that the bull, ready for publication, was the work of the Jesuits, and that it would not be received. Barberini kept delaying the publication of the document, which, dated March 6, 1642, did not appear until June 19 of the following year.⁵⁹ Its opening words were *In eminenti*.

Feeling ran high. St. Cyran declared: "They have gone too

⁵⁸ Apparently this liberation was owing to a ruse of the Jansenists. It was obtained through the intermediary of a Jesuit, Father Ferrier, the King's confessor. The King was petitioned to grant pardon to those detained in the Vincennes castle. To this petition was added a list of the prisoners, but St. Cyran's name was not put in the list. However, the *lettre de cachet* freeing the prisoners was general: St. Cyran profited by the ruse.

⁵⁹ The bull is dated March 6, 1641. But we know that, in the style of the bulls, the year begins *ab incarnatione Domini*, i.e., March 25. March 6, 1641, thus becomes March 6, 1642, in the ordinary way of reckoning dates.

far. They must be shown their duty.”⁶⁰ He was, of course, referring to the Jesuits; for in his party the writing of the bull was generally attributed to them. Even if it were the work of Pope Urban VIII, it could not be accepted, said the Jansenist party, with full safety of conscience; for the Pope was without competence. He lacked also authority: was he qualified to make a decision on the meaning of a book? After all, what was condemned in this book? The fact that it reproduced the doctrine of Baius. But was that doctrine authentically condemned? Not at all. Moreover, Baius and Jansen had done nothing more than repeat the doctrine of St. Paul. The head of the Church condemning the Apostle of the Gentiles! St. Peter condemning St. Paul! This simple hypothesis was an insult to the Church.

Such were the protests raised by the bull *In eminenti*, when the Jansenist party lost its leader. Upon release from prison, Duvergier de Hauranne set to work to refute the doctrines of the Jesuits.⁶¹ These labors, added to infirmities which his imprisonment had but increased, crushed him. On feast days he might be seen in the church of St. Jacques du Haut-Pas, his parish, walking with weary step, to receive communion at the High Mass, wearing the stole over his cloak. His friends were disturbed at his burdened and downcast air. Yet, says Hermant, “the freedom of his spirit was so great that, even the day before his stroke, he was still at work on his book, saying that a priest is a king, and that a king ought to die on his feet.”⁶² The next day he suffered a stroke of apoplexy. Eight days later (October 11, 1643) he expired in the arms of his curé, Father de Pons, who had been summoned to administer the last sacraments.⁶³

⁶⁰ Sainte-Beuve, III, 90.

⁶¹ Hermant, I, 218.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁶³ *La Gazette de France*, favorable to the Jansenists, says, in its number of October 17, that “he died of a stroke of apoplexy, which came upon him after he had received Holy Viaticum.” Rapin quotes a letter of Abbé de Pons, pastor of St. Jacques, which contradicts this testimony: “You ask me if M. de Saint-Cyran received his sacraments at the time of his death; no one can better answer that question than I can.

“The Great Arnauld”

We are told that on his deathbed Duvergier de Hauranne said to his doctor, who was connected with the college of the Jesuits: “Tell your fathers that I am leaving twelve who are better than I am.”⁶⁴ He was probably alluding to his devoted nephew, M. de Barcos, to M. Singlin, the fashionable orator, to M. de Saci, the esteemed spiritual director, to M. D’Andilly, whose worldly connections were of so great value, and perhaps also to the youngest of the Arnaulds, Antoine, who until then had been merely the most brilliant of the soldiers, but who had just shown himself a leader by the publication of his great work on frequent Communion.

The twentieth son of Antoine Arnauld was born in 1612. At the time we are speaking of he was thirty years old. Six of his sisters had entered Port Royal as nuns; two of his brothers lived there as hermits.⁶⁵ His other brothers were dead. His father had become the counselor and the habitual guest of Port Royal; his mother had entered that convent under the name of Sister Catherine. Antoine Arnauld, from childhood, had breathed the Jansenist spirit. But his youth was somewhat worldly. His conversion to a life of austerity occurred under the influence of St. Cyran, prisoner in the castle of Vincennes. Antoine, then a subdeacon, was looking forward to obtaining the doctorate. One day he wrote to the prisoner, telling about thoughts of pride that were tempting him. He received the following reply: “The doctoral dignity has deceived you, as the beauty of Susanna deceived the two old men.” In another letter the “confessor of the faith,” whose every word Antoine weighed

I was called by his servants to give him extreme unction. But before I had finished, he died. . . . As to the other sacraments, he did not receive them; he did not even mention them” (Rapin, p. 505).

⁶⁴ Sainte-Beuve, III, 22.

⁶⁵ Arnauld d’Andilly, his oldest brother, and the Abbé de Saint-Nicolas, the future bishop of Angers.

as a person might weigh gold coins, wrote: "You must build an internal library. Nothing is so dangerous as learning; the words of the Son of God are alarming: *Abscondisti haec a sapientibus.*" The terrible director then laid down for Antoine a rule of life: two fast days every week, frequent prayers, a hermitical life, the postponement of the doctorate until after receiving the priesthood, not to receive the priesthood until he had made an internal donation of all his goods to Port Royal.⁶⁶

All this happened in 1640. Shortly afterward (February 4, 1641) Antoine lost his mother. When the dying woman was about to receive extreme unction, Antoine, then a deacon, asked for a surplice that he might assist at the ceremony. But Father Singlin, confessor of the nuns, judged he ought not to grant this request. He said that, as M. de Saci had already obtained this permission, to let her son Antoine also enter would be according too much to nature. Antoine then was satisfied to ask that he be informed of his mother's last counsel. Father Singlin brought these words to him, words that must have remained graven in his memory: "I beg you to say to my last son . . . that he should never relax in the defense of the truth, but sustain it without fear, even if it should cost a thousand lives."

This young man, who would soon be called "The Great Arnauld," was small, dark, and ill-favored. In the forty-two quarto volumes that comprise his writings you cannot find one of those expressions that hold the attention, that shine, or that stand out, not a single expression that might be called a sign of genius.⁶⁷ But when Antoine Arnauld spoke, this son and grandson of lawyers manifested all the qualities of the profession of his ancestors. Fire, color, and life were in his words. Later when his friends, captivated by his conversation, read

⁶⁶ "A great obscurity covers the measures according to which the hermits of Port Royal gave and assured their fortune to the community. . . . A curious economic chapter would be that of the finances of Port Royal and of Jansenism, from the donation of the 'Great Arnauld' to the *boite à Perrette*" (Sainte-Beuve, II, 18).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

his writings, they thought they were still listening to him. For those who had seen him or who had been told of him, of the warmth of his conversation and the activity of his devotion, the charm of his word and the influence of his person passed into his writings. As orator, writer, controversialist, and organizer, he was "The Great Arnould."⁶⁸

The occasion of his first book, which made him famous at once, was a commonplace case of conscience between two friends of Port Royal, the Marquise de Sablé and Princess Rohan-Guémené. These two ladies had been invited to a ball that was to be held on a day when they were to go to Communion. They consulted their respective confessors. Mme Guémené, whose conscience was formerly directed by the Jesuits, had now taken St. Cyran as her director. In this case she consulted also Father Singlin. Madame Sablé, although greatly attached to Port Royal, still went for spiritual guidance to a father of the Company of Jesus, Father de Sesmaisons. Madame Guémené, alleging the rule of life given her by her Jansenist director, excused herself for not accepting the invitation to the ball. Madame Sablé, in conformity with the spiritual direction of her Jesuit confessor, went to the ball and the next day submitted the case of conscience to Father de Sesmaisons, telling him about the rule of life imposed on her friend. The Jesuit not only approved of his penitent's conduct, but, with the help of his fellow Jesuits, Fathers Bauny and Rabardeau, undertook a refutation of the doctrine of Port Royal in a little writing bearing the title, *Question s'il est meilleur de communier souvent que rarement*.

Arnould became acquainted with the work even before it was placed in the hands of the printer.⁶⁹ Indignant at seeing the author admit to Communion even those who are filled with self-love and who are attached to the world, and taking advantage

⁶⁸ This appellation was accepted even by the foes of Jansenism.

⁶⁹ Hermant, I, 213 note.

of what he appealed to as the better rule, to regard what is conformable to the early practices of the Church, Antoine Arnauld decided to destroy his adversaries' thesis by showing that all antiquity was contrary to it.⁷⁰

This was the entire aim of his book, which was entitled, *De la fréquent Communion*. The work was divided into three parts. The first part was a treatise of positive theology. He assembled there and coordinated texts of Scripture and of the Fathers on the dispositions a person should have for receiving Communion. The second part was a moral treatise. The author tried to demonstrate that penance should precede Communion. The third part was a treatise of asceticism. There the author examined the best means for fruitful reception of Communion. This part was preceded by a preface where we read these words, destined to arouse so much discussion: "St. Peter and St. Paul, these two heads of the Church make but one."

The work, arranged in methodical order, written in a cold style, but clear and provided throughout with fine quotations from the Fathers, had an immense success. Since the appearance of St. Francis de Sales' *Introduction to the Devout Life* forty years before, no book of spirituality had obtained equal favor. It was put on sale in the summer of 1643. Princess Marie de Gonzaga found delight in reading it. Men of letters, such as Doctor Pallu, devoured it.⁷¹

La fréquent, as the book was commonly called, introduced among the general public questions which previously had engaged the attention only of theologians and a few eager minds in high society. But an uneasiness arose in the Church and spread among its most devoted defenders. The Company of Jesus, the Vincentians, and St. Sulpice were conspicuous for their zeal in defending the traditional doctrines against the innovators.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁷¹ Sainte-Beuve, II, 225.

The Jesuits

Racine in his *Histoire de Port Royal* regards the prompt attack by the Jesuits as merely the consequence of a grudge of literary men. He says: "The Jesuits had seen themselves for a long time in possession of the first rank in letters, and people read almost no books of devotion except theirs. Therefore it pained them to see themselves dispossessed from that front rank and from that public favor by the newcomers, before whom it seemed that all their genius and all their learning melted away." Such a statement of the question narrows it too much and misrepresents it. We saw above that the divergence of ideas and attitudes between the Jansenists and the Jesuits dates far back. The whole spirit of Jansenism was opposed to the spirit of the Company of Jesus. The Jesuits, born in the danger of the Church, we may even say born of that very danger, were the restorers of that order and of discipline. The Jansenists were individualists. They were attached to Catholic unity, but by a sort of personal adherence. For them the principal personage in religious life was the "director," the one who spoke to the conscience, or rather it was conscience itself.⁷² If they professed blind obedience to the Church, this was to the Church of early times, not to the Church of today.

A fresh occasion of conflict had arisen for some years past between the Company of Jesus and Port Royal. The Jesuits, from the beginning of their society, had devoted themselves especially to the education of youth. But St. Cyran, a short time before his imprisonment, had laid the basis of the institution which soon became celebrated under the name of "the little schools." According as the reputation of Port Royal spread, leading families eagerly sought the favor of having their children educated in an environment so scholarly, so austere, and so distinguished. In 1643, at the very time when *La fréquent*

⁷² Lavoisier, *Hist. de France*, VII, Part I, 101.

was published, "the little schools" were obliged to move from Port Royal des Champs to the château du Chesnay near Versailles. M. Le Maître, the great lawyer whose oratorical triumphs were not forgotten, showed a zeal to which St. Cyran testified in his celebrated "Meeting with M. de Saci." With equal devotion and in a wiser pedagogical sense Claude Lancelot, the "essential teacher," there taught Greek and mathematics. These first teachers were soon joined by Vallon de Beaupuis, whose thesis at the Sorbonne had been an event a short time before. He was won over to Port Royal by his reading of *La fréquent*. A young man of twenty years, Pierre Nicole in 1645 added new luster to the institution, teaching belles lettres there with a delicate taste.

Each school was divided into chambers. Each chamber included not more than six pupils, placed under the direction of a special teacher. When the pupils were more than twenty, they were divided into several bands or houses. Besides the band of the château du Chesnay, these now included that of the château of Trous near Chevreuse and that of the château des Granges near Port Royal des Champs. The teachers had to be tutors rather than professors, educating the children without rigor but without indulgence or feasts or noisy games or means of emulation. From these schools came *La logique de Port-Royal*, the *Grammaire générale*, the *Jardin des racines grecques*, and other works.⁷³

The doctrine of these gentlemen of Port Royal was suspect. Their mounting influence over the youth was not viewed, we may well suppose, with complacency by the Jesuits. If they were not pleased at the prospect, we cannot blame them. Their

⁷³ But we must not deceive ourselves about the effectiveness of these methods. Suppressed nature sometimes reasserts itself violently. Lancelot relates several escapades of these "young gentlemen," such as that of the boy who stole the calotte of the venerable Father Singlin and sold it for two farthings, then stole some silver spoons, and finally fell into all sorts of disorders. But Lancelot concludes by saying that the boy was not predestined. Lancelot, *Mémoires*, I, 184.

attack on Arnould's book was prompt and strong. Father Nouet,⁷⁴ preaching (August, 1643) in the professed house of St. Louis in Paris, sharply denounced the coming publication of a book that would renew the errors of Calvin. When the work appeared, bearing the approbations of fifteen bishops and twenty doctors, the preacher's attacks, far from lessening, became more pronounced. The Jansenists then declared that such sermons were public outrages upon the episcopate and the Sorbonne. They called for a repression. But Mazarin, quite occupied with other matters, had neither leisure nor taste for this kind of affair.⁷⁵ Archbishop François de Gondi of Paris was asked to intervene by his nephew, Paul de Gondi, the future Cardinal de Retz, in favor of the Jansenists. The Archbishop forbade the Jesuits to discuss Arnould's book in the pulpit and even obliged Father Nouet to disavow the attacks with which he was being blamed. Not long afterward the Company of Jesus put forward against "The Great Arnould" the most learned man they then had, Denis Petau. No one was more familiar with the early Fathers. Petau had no difficulty in proving that the author of *La fréquent* interpreted certain texts wrongly and omitted others that would have served as a corrective for his doctrine: this was the purpose of his volume, *De la pénitence publique*. But the work, written in a heavy style, did not win attention.

Soon the news spread that many of the bishops who had approved *La fréquent* had not read the work and that they had simply yielded to the solicitations of a certain Floriot, curé near Paris, who had been sent around by Port Royal to obtain approbations. A change of opinion took place. Now came Arnould's turn to submit. He signed a declaration (March 14,

⁷⁴ Jacques Nouet (1605-80), author of the *Homme d'oraison*. He was a most highly esteemed ascetical author.

⁷⁵ The "cabal of the Important" was suppressed in September, 1643, by the imprisonment of the Duke of Beaufort and the exile of the principal mutiners. But the danger was not altogether removed. It revived later.

1644) by which "he submits his work to the judgment of the Roman Church and of our Holy Father the Pope, revered as the sovereign vicar of Jesus Christ on earth."⁷⁶

When Urban VIII received word of this declaration, he was almost dying. He expired on July 7, 1644. Innocent X, elected September 15 of the same year, thought he should not condemn the whole book.⁷⁷ In 1645 he merely declared heretical Arnauld's expression about St. Peter and St. Paul, so far as it supposed a complete equality between those two apostles.⁷⁸ And this decree was not published until January 24, 1647. The Jansenists rejoiced, because they held that they were not condemned by a pronouncement couched in such terms. But the future showed that the Holy See made no mistake in thus temporizing. The opinion of wise and holy men turned from Port Royal. Men of clear and practical mind, like Vincent de Paul, and mystics full of ardent love of God, like Olier, all repudiated Jansenism. Catholic feeling sensed a heresy in the Jansenists' somber joy in celebrating man's original corruption, his utter helplessness, and God's remote sublimity.⁷⁹

Moreover, a feeling prevailed that these men were not speaking their full mind. They were men of mystery. Jansenism was suspected of unavowed audacity in some of its tenets.⁸⁰ In this group of men and women with their center at Port Royal about the Arnauld family, was to be found a sort of clannish spirit, a sectarian air. The sect was duplicated by a political coterie. The remains of the Fronde were attached to Jansenism. The gentlemen of Port Royal readily welcomed persons who had fallen into disgrace. Factious sentiments appeared in the periodical of the Jansenist St. Gilles.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Arnauld, *Œuvres*, XXVIII, 37.

⁷⁷ Later (in 1690) Alexander VIII condemned thirty-one propositions, among which are at least five taken from Arnauld's book.

⁷⁸ *Omnimodam aequalitatem*. Denzinger, no. 1091.

⁷⁹ Lavissee, *op. cit.*, VII, Part I, 92.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

St. Vincent de Paul had been the friend of St. Cyran, whose learning and talent he admired. The Jansenists profited by all occasions to refer to Vincent's approval. They used to recall that the holy priest visited the prisoner of Vincennes and that he had spoken kindly about him. But the sight of the disastrous effects produced on the faithful by Arnauld's book detached him completely from the sect. He wrote: "It is true that too many people misuse this divine sacrament, I myself more than anyone else. But the reading of that book, instead of drawing men to frequent Communion, keeps them from it. . . . St. Sulpice has 3,000 less communicants than in the years past. . . . What you say may be true, that some persons in France and in Italy have profited by this book; but for a hundred who perhaps have profited by it in Paris and have become more respectful in using the sacraments, at least ten thousand have been utterly ruined by it."

Precisely when the founder of the Lazarists wrote these lines, the founder of St. Sulpice also had occasion to separate from the gentlemen of Port Royal. Soon he would be brilliantly opposing them.

Jean Jacques Olier

Like Vincent de Paul and Pierre de Berulle, Jean Jacques Olier had had good relations with the Abbé de St. Cyran. His devoted attachment to the Holy See was well known, but also his aversion to the bad "casuists." "I prefer," he said, "to see a sick man besieged by a legion of the spirits of darkness rather than to see him put his trust in a casuist, who, to enlarge the way of salvation for him, opens wide for him the gate of hell."⁸² Attempts were made, if not to win over the curé of St. Sulpice, at least to make use of his words, of his authority, to introduce Jansenism into his parish. In the Faubourg St. Germain the party had some salons of high society which were

⁸² Quoted by Faillon, *Vie de M. Olier*, II, 4, 8.

devoted to it. The houses of Liancourt and of Nevers were Jansenist centers. But Father Olier everywhere expressed his views with a freedom that made him worthy of commendation in his parish; thus most of those who were beginning to favor the new doctrine became cool toward it. For this he was not pardoned at Port Royal.⁸³ The sect then turned to the parish of St. Merry, whose new curé, Father du Hamel, not satisfied with spreading the doctrines of the *Fréquent*, undertook to put them into practice. The faithful were obliged to observe "hours of tears" and "hours of flagellation." Contemporaries remark that these exercises were carried out in the midst of scenes that were most fantastic, sometimes most immoral.⁸⁴

In 1649 the curé of St. Sulpice thought he ought to protest publicly against these scandals. On the day of the patronal feast of the parish, in the presence of the King, the Queen, the court, and several bishops and generals of religious orders, especially assembled, he preached a great sermon on penance. In this he declared: "Christian penance is not that outward penance, which leads some persons of our day to say that they must therefore quit the cities, all worldly business, even business that is necessary for life." Then, attacking the sophism of the return to the first centuries, which was upsetting some pious souls, he showed that it is just and useful that certain things change in the Church and that the Spirit of God, after rescuing the Christian people from the sensuality of paganism by the public penance of the first centuries subsequently desired to reserve the penitential life to holy religious orders. He concluded by saying that we have a way to recognize if the Holy Ghost is in a new institution, namely, whether God confirms it by miracles, whether the authors of these novelties are submissive to the Church, and whether the pope approves them.⁸⁵

⁸³ Rapin, *op. cit.*, I, 136.

⁸⁴ See several of these details in Rapin, I, 222, 444-48; Fuzet, *Les jansénistes du XVII^e siècle*, pp. 162-65; Faillon, *op. cit.*, II, 443-45.

⁸⁵ Faillon, II, 447.

Thus were clearly envisaged the doctrines of Port Royal and the practices of St. Merry. Thenceforth Father Olier was regarded by the Jansenists as a Pelagian, just as they called Father Vincent merely a weak and ignorant spirit.

Now the Jesuits were not alone in combating Jansenism. St. Lazare and St. Sulpice had entered the lists. The Sorbonne and the episcopate would soon follow. The crown would lend its hand, and the Holy See would at length explicitly condemn the doctrines of Jansen.

The Five Propositions

Most complex and hard to set forth definitely was this accumulation of doctrines and practices which has been called Jansenism. A dogma formulated with texts taken from St. Augustine, a moral system resting on the practices of the early Christians, a vague spirit of independence, all these readily found evasions and subterfuges when they were the object of attack. The syndic of the Paris faculty of theology, Nicholas Cornet, with the help of forty-one of his colleagues undertook the difficult task of condensing in a few propositions the whole doctrine of the Bishop of Ypres interpreted by Port Royal. The result of these labors was the drawing up of seven propositions, soon reduced to five, which, according to him, summed up the thought of Jansenism concerning the radical corruption of human nature, the all-powerful efficacy of grace, the denial of free will, and the small number of the elect.

These five propositions were as follows:

1. Some of the commandments of God cannot be observed by the just, who wish and endeavor to keep them according to their ability for the time; neither have they the grace that might enable them to do so.
2. In the state of corrupted nature, one never resists the action of interior grace.

3. Moral merit or demerit in the state of all fallen nature does not require in man a freedom exempt from interior necessity; it suffices that a man be exempt from all external constraint.

4. The Semi-Pelagians admitted the necessity of an interior prevenient grace for all good works, including the beginning of faith; but they were heretics inasmuch as they taught that the will is capable of resisting or responding to grace.

5. It is a Semi-Pelagian error to say that Christ died and shed his blood for all men.⁸⁶

The denunciation of the propositions to the Sorbonne (July 1, 1649) stirred up a tempest. Dr. Louis de Saint-Amour and some others opposed the examination of the propositions by the faculty, calling such a procedure an abuse of its deliberations. They signed petition after petition, and made motions after motions. At the same time the Jansenists published statements and pamphlets against Cornet. The sharpest was undoubtedly Arnould's *Considérations sur l'entreprise faite par M. Cornet*.

The disturbance soon reached the Parliament, which received a complaint against what was called the irregularity of a censure illegally pronounced by the commissioners of the Sorbonne who were appointed to study the question. The censure was the work of a forger, they said. Who was its author? The Jansenists charged their enemies with having made it up to terrorize them. The latter supposed that the Jansenists had forged it out of whole cloth that they might have a pretext for bringing the affair to the Parliament. However this may be, the Parliament was impressed. It forbade the Sorbonne to examine the propositions.

We have now reached the end of 1649. The quinquennial Assembly of the French Clergy was to be held in March of 1650. While the followers of Jansen tried to base their reliance

⁸⁶ For the Latin text, see Denzinger, nos. 1092-96.

on the magistracy, Cornet and his friends thought their best move was to address the episcopacy. After negotiations in which Vincent de Paul took an active part, eighty-eight bishops signed a petition asking Pope Innocent X to issue a decision on the five propositions drawn up by Nicholas Cornet. At the same time Vincent de Paul had three Sorbonne doctors leave for Rome, directed to press the affair. Saint-Amour and two of his friends reached Rome ahead of them, carrying to the Supreme Pontiff a cleverly worded memorial, signed by eleven bishops, among whom was Archbishop de Gondrin of Sens. This prelate, already known as one of the most devoted partisans of the Jansenists,⁸⁷ would subsequently play an important role in the party. This memorial to the Holy Father set forth that the five propositions had been drawn up purposely to stir up trouble; that besides, the episcopate had the right to judge the matter in the first instance; that the reputation of the Holy See was at stake in pronouncing against the view of the Fathers in favor of the "new Scholastics."

Innocent X had the question studied by a commission of cardinals, on which was only one Jesuit, Sforza Pallavicino. From the month of September, 1651, and during almost two full years, in about fifty meetings, ten of them held in the presence of the Pope, the memorials presented by both sides were carefully examined. On May 31, 1653, Pope Innocent X, with full knowledge of the case, issued his bull *Cum occasione*, condemning the five propositions as heretical.

Vincent de Paul's attitude was admirable for its charity. The great concern of this holy priest was to restrain his friends from triumphing too loudly. He wrote to several of them in this sense and eagerly made a visit of courtesy to Port Royal and to vari-

⁸⁷ This prelate, uncle of Madame de Montespan, had a very worldly youth, and evidently professed the austere morality of Port Royal only in theory. The sumptuous meals he gave his friends were celebrated. A considerable stir was caused by a suit he had to plead against his perfumer for a note of 800 francs. See Fuzet, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 167.

ous eminent persons attached to the party, who promised him obedience to the Holy See.

In fact, many submissions edified the Church. In this number were those of the celebrated Oratorian Thomassin, who with moving delicacy sent word of his disavowal to all those whom he thought he might have influenced in favor of the Jansenists,⁸⁸ and that of the Irish Recollect Wading, who published a most honorable and humble retractation.

We cannot say the same of the great ladies whom the fashion had attracted about Port Royal. The memoirs of the time relate how Isabelle de Choiseul, countess du Plessis-Guénégaud, almost fainted upon learning of the publication of the bull.⁸⁹ Anne de Rohan, princess de Guémené, took an attitude equally lacking in respect. When she went to the court to beg the release of Cardinal de Retz, the Queen, upon seeing her, said: "Madame, we have a bull. You will accept it of course, for at Port Royal they have promised to submit." "Yes, Madame," replied the Princess; "we will accept the bull when Your Majesty receives the brief that we are awaiting for the release of Cardinal de Retz."⁹⁰

With regard to the leaders of the party, they found themselves in an embarrassing position. They were too intelligent and prudent to think that a new religious revolt could be undertaken. Hermits though they were, they were well acquainted with the actual world. To realize the Church which they im-

⁸⁸ In 1668, in the preface of his second memoir on grace, Thomassin wrote an explicit retractation of his Jansenist opinions.

⁸⁹ The Duchess d'Aguillon had directed her friend, the Marquise du Vigean, to inform the Countess du Plessis-Guénégaud of the bull. Father Rapin relates that the Countess had taken some medicine.

"Have we news from Rome?" she asked.

"Yes," said the Marquise, "but you are not in condition to hear me."

"Not at all," said the Countess.

"The bull has arrived, my dear; the Jansenists are condemned."

At that moment the Countess, in urgent distress, ran to the toilet, and there she almost burst with spite and with her medicine (Rapin, II, 133).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

agined, they would have to turn the world over. This they could not do. But must they therefore leave the Church? This they were unwilling to do. Or would they submit? They would not and could not do this. One thing was left that they might do: to form a party. They temporized.⁹¹ Since only the first of the five propositions was taken verbatim from the works of Jansen, they held that the propositions were not to be found in Jansen's writings, or at least that the sense in which they were condemned was not the sense of Jansen. Was the Pope capable of defining a man's inner thought?

The Formulary

Such reasoning contained a subtle equivocation. No doubt the Church is not the judge of a man's interior thoughts. But to refuse it the power to define the natural sense of the words used by an author, would be to take from her infallibility all its practical efficacy. Her authority, given her for the regulation of particular and concrete situations, must be able to extend to particular and concrete doctrines.

Only one procedure seemed able to put an end to a quarrel that threatened to be interminable: to draw up a clear and precise formulary and to oblige the recalcitrants to sign it. In consequence of various circumstances, the Jansenist question by 1654 had in many ways become a political question, almost a court cabal. Mazarin, who dreaded nothing so much as to see Cardinal de Retz at the head of the archbishopric of Paris, had recently imprisoned him. But Retz was the friend of the Jansenists. To proceed against the sect would be, it was hoped, to enter again into the good graces of the Holy See and perhaps to obtain from the Pope an assurance that he would not protest against the imprisonment of the Cardinal, even that he

⁹¹ Lavissee, *op. cit.*, VII, Part I, 104.

would accept the Cardinal's resignation as archbishop.⁹² If a theologian would devise a formula of faith without any loophole for the subtlety of the gentlemen of Port Royal, the government in accord with the Pope would oblige them to sign it and would compel each of them to declare his attitude clearly.

One man, by his learning and by his dispositions toward the government, seemed to be the very one to draw up the projected formulary: this was De Marca, archbishop of Toulouse, whose part in the Gallican question we have already studied. According to reports, he was longing for the archbishopric of Paris. That high post could be the reward for his services.

In fact, in 1655 the Archbishop of Toulouse drew up a formulary worded as follows: "I condemn both in thought and by word of mouth the doctrine of the five propositions of Cornelius Jansen contained in his book *Augustinus*, which the Pope and the bishops have condemned; this doctrine is not that of St. Augustine, whose true meaning Jansen has distorted." The signing of this formulary would be prescribed by the General Assembly of the Clergy in 1656. But meanwhile a new incident embittered the quarrel.

As we pointed out above, among the centers of Jansenism was the house of Roger du Plessis, duke of Liancourt, whose loose youth was a matter of common talk. At the age of forty he entered upon a more regular life which, under the direction of the gentlemen of Port Royal, soon became a sort of penitent life. In his new life, loaded down with practices of piety, the former libertine sometimes showed through.⁹³ But his admira-

⁹² On Mazarin's policy in his relations with the Holy See, see Gérin, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, chap. I.

⁹³ The Duke de Liancourt had promised his daughter to the Prince de Marsillac. Madame de Guémené showed him some letters proving that the Prince had an affair with Madame d'Olonne. "Indeed!" exclaimed the Jansenist Duke. "Marsillac is a galante. I have been so myself. I have now the greater regard for him. . . . I did not suppose he had so much spirit." And the marriage took place. See Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, V, 47.

tion for the men and the things of Port Royal was unbounded. When approaching the "holy city,"⁹⁴ he could not repress his emotion. When he perceived some sort of peasant at a distance, he opened his eyes wide and, taking off his hat, whispered to someone at his side: "Is that one of those gentlemen?" Even the cowherd was venerable in his eyes.⁹⁵ In his luxurious Paris house the noble Duke used to receive two notorious Jansenists, Father Des Mares and Abbé de Bourzéis, but for confession he went to a priest of St. Sulpice, Father Picoté. In the autumn of 1655 the Duke of Liancourt, upon returning from the country, went to St. Sulpice to take a day for confession. Father Picoté, disturbed over Liancourt's increasingly close relations with Port Royal, said to him: "I should like to take counsel about what attitude I ought to adopt in your case. Come back in a few days." Meanwhile four doctors of the Sorbonne, upon being consulted, replied at first that the confessor of a friend of Port Royal, under the conditions mentioned, would do well to refuse absolution. Then they conceded that the confessor might advise the penitent to go elsewhere for confession. The priests of St. Sulpice then declared that, if the Duke presented himself for Communion, it should not be denied him. The Duke, personally satisfied, thanked Father Olier for the solution of this affair.

But the party was stirred. So the fact of having some close relations with Port Royal might be a reason for refusal of absolution! Some curés in Paris, as zealous as the curé of St. Sulpice, would have acted likewise if this first attempt had succeeded.⁹⁶ Antoine Arnould took up his pen. In a *Lettre à une personne de condition*, then in a *Lettre à un duc et pair*, he rose up against "the temerity of those priests who, without authority, arrogate to themselves the right to exclude the gentlemen

⁹⁴ Port Royal was so called.

⁹⁵ Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, III, 29.

⁹⁶ Hermant, *op. cit.*, II, 626.

of Port Royal from the communion of the Church." The Duke of Liancourt, turning against St. Sulpice, used to repeat everywhere that "the Sulpicians were not fit to be spiritual guides and that he would scarcely entrust to them the guiding of his turkeys." ⁹⁷

The incident, however, would not have had grave consequences if Arnauld, in his *Lettre à un duc et pair*, had not maintained: 1. that the first of the condemned propositions was true, and 2. that the four others were not Jansen's nor were they to be found in Jansen. This was equivalent to resuming the whole Jansenist doctrine, to resisting the Pope, the Sorbonne, and the King. Evidently it made Port Royal the center of a party, at one in the case of any offense considered as being made to one of its friends. Thus it reawakened all the old suspicions against the Jansenists. Alexander VII, who had just succeeded Innocent X, by a bull (October 16, 1656) confirmed that of his predecessor and made its meaning more precise, explicitly condemning the five propositions "in the sense intended by Jansen." ⁹⁸ In the formulary was now inserted submission to this second bull, which determined its meaning in a stricter manner. A royal declaration imposed the formulary upon all ecclesiastics of the realm. After a little resistance the Parliament registered both the bull and the royal declaration in the presence of the King. In the meantime the Sorbonne, directly attacked by the Jansenists, imposed censure on the *Lettre à une personne* and the *Lettre à un duc et pair*. After a most lively debate, it removed from the list of its doctors the name of Antoine Arnauld, as also the names of sixty-two of his followers.

Blaise Pascal (1623-62)

The biographer of Antoine Arnauld, Pasquier Quesnel, relates that on January 17, 1656, at the very hour when the

⁹⁷ Quoted by Fuzet, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

⁹⁸ Denzinger, no. 1098. It is the bull *Cum ad sancti Petri sedem*.

censure was pronounced in the Sorbonne, the great man was walking in one of the porches of Port Royal. Suddenly these words of St. Augustine on Psalm 118 arose in his mind: "Since what they have persecuted in me is the Truth, help me, O Lord, that I may fight for the Truth until death."⁹⁹ This was a sort of echo of the words that had been brought to him from his mother's deathbed: "I beg you to say to my last son . . . that he should never relax in the defense of the truth, but sustain it without fear, even if it should cost a thousand lives."

The situation was most critical. A historian of Port Royal had compared the year 1655 to a sort of defile, becoming ever narrower, where they must proceed at all costs. All the public powers—the king, the Parliament, the Assembly of the Clergy, the Sorbonne—seemed to be in conspiracy against the followers of Jansen. Public opinion, enlightened by the Jesuits, the Vincentians, and the Sulpicians, were against them. The *Almanach de la dérouté et de la confusion des jansénistes* was being circulated. A refusal to sign a precise, carefully prepared formulary, one that closed the door to every subterfuge, seemed difficult for men who wished to remain in the Church.

Unexpectedly two events raised the courage of the Jansenists: these were the success of the *Provincial Letters* and the miracle of the Holy Thorn. The genius of man and the power of God apparently took up the quarrel for the persecuted "saints." The men of Port Royal and their friends resumed the strife with redoubled energy.

In December 1655, at the very time of the great debates in the Sorbonne which would result in the condemnation of Arnauld's book and the erasure of his name from the registers of the Faculty, a number of hermits and of their friends happened to be gathered at Port Royal. "You cannot let yourselves be condemned like a child," said one of them, addressing "the Great Arnauld." The latter, turning to a young man of thirty-

⁹⁹ *Vie de Messire Antoine Arnauld*, by Father Quesnel, p. 68.

two years, said: "You who are young ought to do something." This young man was Blaise Pascal. He was the third child of Etienne Pascal, president of the Court of Aids at Clermont. At the age of twelve he gave astounding signs of his aptitude for mathematics. Four years later he amazed Descartes by his treatise on conic sections. In 1631, exhausted by his labors, he experienced the first attacks of the disease which, by aggravating his sensitiveness, gave his style a vibrant quality.¹⁰⁰ He came to Paris in 1631 with his father, who then settled down there. Soon he made the acquaintance of the Arnauld family. The apparent logic of their doctrine seduced the mind of the young man. These influences and especially the inner development of his religious life¹⁰¹ prepared him for the definite crisis of the night of the 23d of November, 1654, a night of ecstasy and joy, when he gave himself to God with finality.

The methods of an excessively abstract and formalist casuistry aroused his indignation. The prosecutions and vexations from which he saw his friends suffering and complaining, stirred his desire to defend them by the means at his disposal. A few days after Arnauld's invitation, Blaise Pascal brought him some pages of a manuscript, in the form of a *Lettre à un Provincial*. Arnauld relished the natural, keen, and strong eloquence which the young scholar put into his writing, the incisive and supple style that says what it wished to and in the way it wishes.¹⁰² On January 23, 1656, appeared the first *Provinciale*. Between that date and March 30 three other letters made their appearance, written on the basis of documents furnished by Nicole and Arnauld. The aim of these first four letters was to show that the Jansenist doctrine on grace is the true Christian doctrine. What characterizes Christian morality and separates it radically from pagan morality is the recognition

¹⁰⁰ Lanson, *Hist. de la litt. française* (7th ed.), p. 448.

¹⁰¹ On the question whether the *Discours sur les passions de l'amour* is the work of Pascal, see Victor Giraud, *Blaise Pascal, étude d'histoire morale*, p. 145.

¹⁰² *Vie de Pascal*, by his sister, Madame Périer.

of the gratuitous assistance of God, that is, grace, merited by Christ, without which man is incapable of attaining his end. But this essential doctrine, said Pascal, is rejected by the Molinists because they make salvation depend, at least partly, on man's effort; and the Thomists weaken it because, while admitting physical premotion, they have not the courage to carry their principles to the logical conclusion, and they use this expression, which they cannot reasonably explain: sufficient grace; a sufficient grace that does not suffice.

We easily see where the pretended logic of this argumentation is in fault; for the Molinists did not grant that the action of man hinders the power of grace, and the Thomists claimed to justify without difficulty the expression with which Pascal reproached them. In the traditional doctrine, sufficient grace is truly sufficient, because it really produces the effect for which it is intended: it truly arouses the will to will. But if the will resists, the sufficient grace remains ineffective. If the will accepts it, the man then acts infallibly in the direction of the sufficient grace by an efficacious grace which never fails to be given.

The public, however, devoured the spiritual letters; and Pascal himself, who wrote them under the inspiration of his friends, did not fathom this reasoning. They were carried away by the eloquence and fervor of the pamphlet or by the passion to defend the persecuted friends.

These four letters maintained a comparative moderation. The Jansenists were more concerned with defending their orthodoxy than in attacking that of others. An extraordinary event presently revived their confidence and made them take up a determined offensive against their foes.

A devout priest, Father de la Potterie, had lent to the community of nuns of Port Royal one of the thorns from our Lord's crown. On March 24, 1656, this precious relic was exposed in their chapel. That day was the Friday of the third

week of Lent, when the Church chants at the Introit of the Mass these words of Psalm 85: *Fac mecum signum in bonum* ("Show me a token for good"). At the close of Vespers hymns and prayers were sung suitable to the holy crown of thorns and the mystery of the Passion. After this, the nuns went forward to kiss the relic. When it was the turn of the little Périér, the mistress of the boarders said to her: "My child, recommend yourself to God and have your eye touched with the holy relic." The girl did as she was told, and thereafter declared that she had no doubt, on the word of her mistress, that the holy thorn would cure her. Following this ceremony, all the boarders retired to their room. At once she said to her companion: "Sister, I am suffering no longer, the holy thorn has cured me."¹⁰³

The miracle was affirmed by physicians. The vicars general of Paris, after investigation, declared it authentic. Soon the report spread through Paris. People hastened to Port Royal to obtain cures. Within a short time, eighty cures were reckoned.

These events transformed Port Royal's state of mind, changing the anxieties of recent times into a triumphant joy.¹⁰⁴ Pascal confidently wrote in his notes: *Ad tuum, Domine Jesu, tribunal appello*. All Port Royal shared these feelings.

On March 30, six days after the miracle of the holy thorn, a few days after the appearance of the fifth *Provinciale*, a government officer, Daubray by name, came to these gentlemen to obtain their signature of submission. Not a single one gave it. Most of them, forewarned in time, were absent. Some remained, disguised as peasants, feigning not to understand what was being asked of them, thus playing a comedy which we would hardly believe on the part of such serious personages unless the facts were attested by the most reliable witnesses.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Racine, *Hist. de Port-Royal; Œuvres* (Lahure ed.), II, 54.

¹⁰⁴ Madame Périér, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁵ Sainte-Beuve, III, 169-72.

With the fifth *Provinciale*, the direct attack, at times ironical and contemptuous, at times violent and wrathful, against the moral teaching of the Jesuits, began. "We read but little of the Fathers," it reported someone as saying to a Jesuit: "We quote only the new casuists. When you Jesuits arrived, we put away St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and the others. But I wish to know the names of those who have succeeded them. Who are these new authors?"

Indeed, in the writings of the casuists of that period anyone might find some maxims that cannot be approved. Pope Innocent XI, twenty years later, by his decree of March 2, 1679, condemned sixty-five propositions that were horribly lax.¹⁰⁶ But the mistake of Pascal or rather of those who were supplying him with the documents, was to attribute merely to the Jesuits and to all the Jesuits what was the case with some isolated casuist. They were caught in their very offense of falsification or rather of false interpretation of texts. They were rightly charged with confounding moral laxism with casuistry, "which is an art and a method indispensable for those who have the charge of directing souls."¹⁰⁷ They have been rightly blamed for speaking lightly of holy things and for having thus "opened the way to Voltaire."¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately the authors who undertook to refute Pascal's book had not his genius. This work won approval by its beauty of style and the perfection of a language in which, after almost three centuries, not a single word has grown old. As much as any other factor, it prepared the minds of men for the movement that, a century later, led to the expulsion of the Jesuits.

The Resistance of the Four Bishops

The eighteenth and last *Provinciale* appeared on March 24, 1657. A decree of the Index, dated September 6 of that year,

¹⁰⁶ Denzinger, nos. 1151-1215.

¹⁰⁷ Lavissee, *op. cit.*, VII, Part I, 106; Brunetière, *Manuel de littérature*, p. 161.

¹⁰⁸ Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

condemned the work. Three years later a royal ordinance directed that the book be burned publicly. In February, 1661, the General Assembly of the Clergy again insisted upon the signing of the formulary. But the party, emboldened by the success of the famous *Letters*, continued its resistance. Four bishops—Henri Arnould of Angers, De Buzanval of Beauvais, De Caulet of Pamiers, and Pavillon of Alet—refused to sign. They maintained that the Church had the power to condemn a doctrine, but not to declare that this doctrine was contained in the writings of such or such an author. In other words, that the infallible Church, infallible in matters of right, is not so in matters of fact. This was the famous distinction of right and fact. The constitution *Regiminis apostolici* (February 15, 1664) renewed the injunction to sign the formulary, but it was unable to make the four bishops yield.

That year Hardouin de Beaumont de Péréfixe received his bulls appointing him archbishop of Paris. One of his first acts was to publish (June 8, 1664) a mandatum in which, to facilitate the obedience of the Jansenists, he set down a difference between a matter of fact and a matter of right, namely, that in a matter of fact a person is bound only to an act of human faith, whereas in a matter of right he is bound to an act of divine faith. The next morning the Archbishop went to Port Royal to urge the nuns that they should sign. But he was met with unanimous refusal,¹⁰⁹ and had to return several times. On one of his visits he said to Madame de Guémené the following words, which have since then marked the spirit of Port Royal: "These women are pure as angels and proud as demons." Eight years of negotiations, disciplinary measures, and exhortations were required to bring all the nuns to obedience. The distinction imagined by Péréfixe between divine faith and human faith

¹⁰⁹ Mother Angélique died August 6, 1661. Some have seen a retraction of Jansenist doctrines in her last words: "Lord, grant Thy mercy to all. . . . I say, to all, my God, to all."

was sharply opposed by Arnauld. Indeed the word "human" was ill chosen. He should have said "ecclesiastical faith," adding that this faith rests on supernatural authority as does divine faith.¹¹⁰ In short, following various conferences, in which Bossuet had a considerable part,¹¹¹ the nuns of Port Royal signed a declaration in which they "condemned the five propositions in all sincerity, without exception or restriction, in the sense in which the Church had condemned them."

As to the four bishops, Rome likewise accepted a moderated formula. On both sides the parties were tired of strife and aspired to peace. Arnauld, for twenty years wandering from one place of hiding to another, desired nothing better than to enter into negotiations with the Holy See and with the King. The four bishops consented to send a letter to Rome. By this letter they declared their submission to the formulary, "having toward the Holy See the same disposition of mind as the bishops of the Gallican Church had in the early ages of the Church." At bottom, as Pavillon declared in the synod he held to obtain the signature of his priests, they were making all their reservations on the infallibility of the Church in matters of dogmatic facts. They could do so without heresy;¹¹² and men like Pavillon and Caulet were incapable of a dissimulation or toning down of their thought. Clement IX was aware of all these acts and on January 19, 1669, wrote to the four prelates to felicitate them "on the true and perfect obedience with which they subscribed to the formula." Three months earlier Antoine Arnauld had been received by the nuncio, who counseled him

¹¹⁰ On ecclesiastical faith, see Brugère, *De ecclesia Dei Christi*, p. 390.

¹¹¹ On Bossuet's part in this affair, see Urbain and Levesque, *Correspondance de Bossuet*, II, 85-87.

¹¹² That the Church is infallible in the definition of dogmatic facts seems undeniable; for example, on the fact whether such a doctrine is contained in such a book, whether such a council is ecumenical. Without this infallibility her power, it seems, would be ineffective. In fact, the Church has always acted as if it were infallible in such cases. But it does not follow that this infallibility is *de fide*. Cf. Hurter, *Theologia dogmatica, De ecclesia*, thesis 55 (7th ed., I, 303).

to use his golden pen in the defense of the Church. Ten days later a decree of the royal Council forbade any attack or provocation against him on the score of what had happened in the past. The next day Arnauld was received by Louis XIV and said to him: "Sire, I regard as the greatest good fortune of my life the honor which Your Majesty bestows on me by permitting me to be in your presence." Peace was established. It would last about thirty years, and was called the Clementine Peace, from the name of Clement IX.

Arnauld and his friends followed the nuncio's advice. They made of this period of peace a fruitful period in works of apologetics, piety, and scholarship. *La perpétuité de la foi de l'Eglise catholique touchant l'Eucharistie* was the most important of the books coming from their pens. It was the work of Arnauld, Nicole, and Renaudot. Bossuet encouraged the undertaking. Louis XIV made use of high diplomatic circles to assist the industrious authors.¹¹³ The purpose of the work was to show, against the Protestants, that the faith about the Eucharist had been perpetual in the Church from the time of Christ down to our own day. The book had a great success.

Claude and Jurieu tried to reply to this monument of erudition. Undeniably one of their arguments *ad hominem* struck a blow at the Jansenist authors. "If your rule of faith," they said, "involves such long studies, it becomes the privilege of a select circle of scholars, and you cannot properly appeal to it over the rule of Protestant faith." In rejecting the authority of the contemporary Church, or at least in seeking to verify and confirm it by reference to the Church of the first centuries, the doctors of Port Royal prevented themselves from giving a satisfactory answer to this objection. Although the work was

¹¹³ De Nointel, ambassador to Constantinople, supplied Nicole with a large number of attestations, letters, and reports. Galland, the future translator of *A Thousand and One Nights*, who had accompanied De Nointel, brought back numerous documents to the gentlemen of Port Royal. When De Pomponne, the son of Arnauld d'Andilly, was Secretary of State, they found themselves at the very source of information.

not faultless, as a whole it was solid. Bossuet, whose approbation appeared at the beginning of the first volume, was right in saying that the book conformed to the Catholic faith and was well suited to lead back those who had strayed away from the faith.¹¹⁴ The *Préjugés légitimes*, the *Traité de l'unité de l'Eglise*, and especially Nicole's *Essais de morale*, revealed to the general public that clear, placid spirit, though lacking in unction and brilliance, but full of good humor.

The Jansenist spirit found its way into two scholarly works: the Mons Bible¹¹⁵ and the Benedictine edition of St. Augustine.¹¹⁶

The Jansenist spirit was far from being dead. Several of those who signed the formulary retracted their submission. They had obeyed the King's injunction out of fear of the Bastille; ¹¹⁷ now safety gave them courage. The Duchess of Longueville, whose house became the center of the party after 1666, exercised considerable influence in this movement of retraction. Among the best known of those who withdrew their submission were Bishop Laval of La Rochelle, son of Madame de Sablé, Bishop De Ligny of Meaux, brother of the Abbess of Port Royal, and immediate predecessor of Bossuet, and

¹¹⁴ Urbain and Levesque, *Correspondance de Bossuet*, I, 508.

¹¹⁵ In 1671 Arnauld and Nicole proposed to Bossuet that he aid them in revising a version of the New Testament made at Port Royal and called the Mons Bible because it had been published in that city. Bossuet had not the time to follow the work to its end. Thus the Jansenists were later prevented from appealing to Bossuet's authority in favor of their Bible.

¹¹⁶ This edition had a Jansenist color by its notes, by its tables, by its use of capital letters. Mabillon had written the preface, which Bossuet was asked to revise. Subsequently they wished to make the Bishop of Meaux responsible for the Jansenist tendencies of this edition. See Ingold, *L'édition bénédictine de Saint-Augustin*.

¹¹⁷ These Jansenists had signed with mental restrictions or with equivocations. For this they were blamed by Pascal, who said: "Those who sign, while speaking only of faith, take a middle way which is abominable before God, contemptible before men." His sister Jacqueline, in religion Sister St. Euphemia, wrote: "I ask you, what difference do you see between these dissemblings and the offering of incense to an idol with the pretext that you have put a cross in your sleeve?" See Feugère, *Lettres, opusculs et mémoires de Jacqueline Pascal*. However, Sister St. Euphemia signed the formulary. Shortly afterward she died in anguish.

especially the Oratorian Pasquier Quesnel, who, after Arnould's death in 1694, took up the direction of the Jansenist party.

Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719)

Pasquier Quesnel, born in Paris in 1634, joined the Congregation of the Oratory in 1657. In 1662, when he was only twenty-nine years old, he began writing a commentary on the Gospels. His writing contained all the charm of a soul full of unction and of a mind wonderfully subtle. His relations with several friends of Port Royal early inclined him toward Jansenism. His attachment to Father de Sainte-Marthe, superior general of the Oratory, who was exiled by the Archbishop of Paris, was the reason for his being removed beyond Paris in 1681. Four years later, when he refused to sign a doctrinal formula which the general assembly of the Oratory had imposed on all members of the congregation, he withdrew to Brussels. There he lived with Antoine Arnould, whose closest confidant he became. Meanwhile his little volume, published in 1671, was favorably received by the public. Quesnel repeatedly revised it and added to it in successive editions. All these changes were in the direction more favorable to the doctrine of Port Royal. In fact, the edition published in 1693 under the title of *Réflexions morales sur le Nouveau Testament*, formed four large octavo volumes. These really presented the whole Jansenist doctrine in a captious form. Quesnel's ideas on the constitution of the Church approach the doctrine of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. He says: "What is left for a soul that has lost grace, except sin and the consequences of sin: a proud destitution, a slothful indigence, a general powerlessness to make effort and to perform any good act?"¹¹⁸ "Grace is an operation of the all-powerful hand of God, which nothing can hinder or retard."¹¹⁹ "Christ delivered Himself to death to save the first-

¹¹⁸ Denzinger, no. 1351.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 1360.

born, that is, the elect, from the hand of the exterminating angel." ¹²⁰ "It is wise to give souls the time to bear the weight of their sin and to feel this weight . . . before reconciling them." ¹²¹ "Sometimes the holiest souls, most closely united to the Church, are looked upon and treated as unworthy of belonging to the Church and even as separated from the Church. But the just man lives by faith, not by the opinion of men." ¹²²

Such language, full of vibrant feeling, fed on the Scriptures in a forced meaning, had a greater power to penetrate souls than the learned dissertations of the *Augustinus* or even of the *Fréquent Communion*. The work carried at this head the approbation which Bishop Vialart of Châlons had given to the small edition of 1671 and which was repeated in this greatly augmented and revised edition.¹²³ Soon we see added to this approbation a letter of praise from Bishop de Noailles, successor of Bishop Vialard in the see of Châlons. This letter was written in 1695 and recommended the work to the faithful. This mistake of Bishop de Noailles was the start of all the later mistakes into which this prelate let himself be drawn.

More so than Jansen or St. Cyran or Arnauld or Pascal, Quesnel became the idol of the party. The charm and kindliness of his personal relations added greatly to his popularity. According to his followers, no one ever saw a man who was gentler, more equable, more accomodating to those who lived with him.¹²⁴ When he traveled, his friends regarded as a blessing that he would spend a little time visiting each of them.¹²⁵ The Carmelites of Faubourg St. Jacques had the greatest possible veneration for him.¹²⁶

This man, with a disposition apparently so mild, showed a

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 1382.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, no. 1437.

¹²² *Ibid.*, no. 1447.

¹²³ Vialard died in 1680.

¹²⁴ Letter quoted by Sainte-Beuve, VI, 273.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

stubborn obstinacy. After making the boldest statements in his book, he let loose the most violent tempests and became the head of that militant and aggressive Jansenism of the eighteenth century. By the low standard of its mysticism and by its seditious doctrines, it was the precursor of the great catastrophe that was to cast a cloud over the Church of France and the kingdom.

Chapter XII

Quietism

JUST when Quesnel's *Réflexions morales* was spreading and was preparing the way for this new phase of Jansenism, another religious dispute broke out.

At the beginning of 1694 Bishop Godet des Marais of Chartres, visiting at the house of St. Cyr, was alarmed at the maxims he heard there. Madame de La Maisonfort, one of the chief helpers of Madame de Maintenon, openly declared that a person need not restrain himself or look into his own heart.¹ Such maxims came to her from her spiritual director, the Abbé Fénelon, and particularly from one of his relatives, Madame Guyon de La Motte. For the past four years at St. Cyr Fénelon had been giving conferences on the spiritual life.

Madame Guyon (1648–1717)

Jeanne Marie Bouvier de La Motte was born at Montargis on April 13, 1648. Her parents were Claude Bouvier, lord of La Motte Vergonville, procurator of the king in the bailiwick of Montargis, and Jeanne Le Maistre de La Maisonfort. The vivacity of her nature early led her to a visionary and unreal sort of piety. If we are to believe her autobiography, she had visions at the age of five, aspired to martyrdom from that early age, passed through a crisis of flirtation when fourteen years old, and then returned to a life of prayer and mortification, all this while suffering from unusual and interminable sicknesses.

¹ Phéliepeaux, *Relation de l'origine du progrès et de la condamnation du quiétisme*, I, 46.

What we are certain of is that at an early age she became exceedingly fond of the works of St. Theresa, that she read avidly the life of Madame de Chantal, and that she was seized with a powerful desire to imitate those two saints. Some have thought that perhaps this desire prompted her too much in the account of her own life and that her rich imagination may have made her see in her past many things that she later wished to find there.

Married (January 18, 1664) to Jacques Guyon du Chesnoy, son of a rich merchant, she was not happy in this union. Upon being widowed at the age of twenty-eight, she gave herself up entirely to piety. One of her relatives, a Barnabite priest, encouraged her in the practice of interior prayer by his example and his words. A Franciscan, whom she often consulted, used to tell her: "Accustom yourself to seek God in your heart, and you will find Him there." This advice was quite in conformity with traditional Christian mysticism. But the ardent soul of the pious widow carried her beyond the bounds of prudence. Four years after her husband's death, a certain spiritual director, no less given to mystical dreaming, plunged her into a singular kind of piety, the origin of her long trials and grave errors.

Bishop d'Arenthon of Geneva, meeting the young widow at Paris in 1680, was touched by her misfortunes, by her virtue, and by her piety. He persuaded her to retire to Gex, in a community of New Catholics which had just been established there. The superior of this community was a certain Barnabite, Father Lacombe. This priest was tall, of great outward composure, with a bearing of modesty and holiness, although something sinister appeared in his looks. He was a native of Thonon in the diocese of Geneva. Report had it that, during a visit to Rome, he was a disciple of Molinos, who was then spreading his illusions.² At about the age of thirty his life was troubled by

² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

violent passions, which he later avowed.³ Upon returning to God he at once experienced a special taste for spiritual and mystical authors. He even foolishly imagined that certain stains might be a means which God employed to raise up a soul to lofty degrees of spirituality.⁴ This queer director of conscience later died insane after a life full of distress and much of it spent in prison.

In her own account, Madame Guyon writes: "As soon as I saw the father, I was surprised to feel an interior grace which I may call communication, and which I had never felt with anyone before. It seemed to me that an influence of grace came from him to me by the innermost part of the soul and returned from me to him, in such a way that he experienced the same effect. . . . I was put into such a state that I spoke to him only in silence. There it was that we spoke together in God in a manner that was quite ineffable and divine." These "communications" and these "silent words" would play a great part in Madame Guyon's spirituality.

Gradually Father Lacombe and his penitent imagined that they were designed by God to renew the world by the teaching of pure love. The Bishop of Geneva took alarm at this turn. His remarks were taken as an indication of Providence that they should leave the diocese of Geneva and begin carrying out the divine plan. Madame Guyon, whose large fortune enabled her to journey frequently, moved successively to Thonon, Turin, Grenoble, Marseilles, Vercel, Dijon, and finally to Paris, where she fixed her residence in 1686. At Grenoble she had printed *Le moyen court et facile pour faire l'oraison* ("A Short and Easy Method of Prayer"). At Marseilles she was consoled by the famous blind priest François Malaval. At Paris she again met her friend the Duchess of Charost, who introduced her to three other duchesses. There she met also her

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 3 f.

cousin Madame de la Maisonfort, who later introduced her to St. Cyran, at the house of Madame de Maintenon. Father Lacombe had rejoined his friend in the capital. He preached there. Madame Guyon distributed profusely the books in which she had set forth his doctrine: *Les torrents spirituels* and *Le moyen court*. Everywhere, in her relations with the world of high society, she sought what she called "mystical children."

However, from almost every place where she had passed, people wrote letters against her and against Father Lacombe. François de Harlay was then governing the diocese of Paris. Whatever blame he may rightly incur, at least he had the wisdom and merit of exercising extreme care in combating all the novelities that might disturb the peace of the Church and the public order.⁵ In 1687 people were much interested in the investigation begun at Rome against the doctrines of Miguel de Molinos,⁶ doctrines that were later condemned by the decree of August 28 and by the constitution *Coelestis Pastor* of November of that same year.⁷ Molinos' errors, as we can extract them from his *Guide spirituelle*, from the bull of condemnation, and from other contemporary documents, are summed up in the following two propositions: 1. The path to be followed in going to God consists in a complete annihilation of our powers, in such a forgetfulness of everything and in particular of our-

⁵ In 1688 or 1689.

⁶ Miguel de Molinos was a Spanish priest. He was born in 1627 or 1640 at Muniesa in Aragon. He went to Rome and there acquired a high reputation as a spiritual director. At the solicitation of his many friends, he published in Italian in 1675 a summary of his doctrine. The work was evidently approved at first by several theologians and had a great success. It seems that Innocent XI, who had great admiration for him, gave him an apartment at the Vatican. But our only knowledge of these details comes from the reports of the French ambassador, who at that period "seized on every opportunity to humiliate and mortify Innocent XI by showing the world that the Most Christian King was a more vigilant defender of the faith than the Pope was" (Lavissee, *op. cit.*, VIII, Part I, 303). Molinos' book was condemned by papal decree, November 19, 1687. Molinos himself was condemned as a heretic to life imprisonment. He died repentant in 1696.

⁷ Denzinger, nos. 1221-88.

self that we no longer think of hell, of heaven, of our own perfection, or of our own salvation. 2. The end to be attained is a state of union with God by pure contemplation, without images of any sort, and by a love detached from every personal consideration. Molinos summed up his whole system in these words: "To go by annihilation to peace,"⁸ that is, "to God pure and ineffable, abstracted from any particular thought, in interior silence."⁹ The Marseilles priest who had consoled Madame Guyon when she visited that city, Father Malaval, had written thus: "Whoever has reached a place of rest . . . if sometimes he thinks about the road, that is merely by way of recollection, but not by way of returning to it."¹⁰ This was contrary to the most explicit language of St. Theresa, St. Ignatius, and all the mystics. To speak thus was to exclude from the contemplative life all worship, any external practices, even the consideration of Christ's humanity.

In her *Moyen court*, Madame Guyon taught that God's design is to strip the soul of its own operations, to substitute His in their place.¹¹ In the *Interprétation du cantique des cantiques*, we read that "as soon as the soul begins to flow to God, like a stream back to its source, it must be wholly lost in Him; it must even lose the sight of God and all distinct consciousness."¹²

In a short work by Father Lacombe, which appeared at Verceil in 1686 we find passages like the following: "When the Spirit of God has penetrated into a man, it changes him into another man, who is then acted upon by God rather than acting himself. The love of God operates in him at its good pleasure,

⁸ Molinos, *Spiritual Guide*, Bk. III, chap. 21, no. 207.

⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 13, no. 129.

¹⁰ Malaval, *Pratique facile pour élever l'âme à la contemplation*, p. 48. François Malaval (1627-1719), a priest of Marseilles, was blind since the age of nine months. The Pope granted him a dispensation to be ordained. Although a pious and well-educated priest, he let himself be seduced by Molinos' ideas, which he spread in France with some modifications. When condemned by the Holy See, he submitted most humbly.

¹¹ *Moyen court et très facile de faire oraison* (2nd ed., § 17, p. 71.

¹² *Interprét. du cantique des cantiques*, chap. 6, no. 4.

in eo pro libitu suo ludit. Such a gift is bestowed on more persons than is commonly supposed.”¹³ A little farther on, the author, claiming to rest his view on the Scripture, invites to the permanent feast of contemplation, children, simple people, the ignorant.

The similarity between these doctrines and those of Molinos, and also serious charges against the morals of Father Lacombe and Madame Guyon, moved Bishop de Harlay to adopt measures of precaution and severity. In October, 1687, Father Lacombe was arrested, at first detained in the house of the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, then imprisoned in the Bastille. From there he was transferred to Île d'Orléon, and from there to the castle of Lourdes.

Madame Guyon was arrested in January, 1688, and taken to the convent of the Visitation. She remained there only eight months. The denunciations against her on the ground of her moral conduct could not be sustained.¹⁴ Showing that she had no attachment to her own ideas, she declared that she was ready to abandon them as soon as they should be declared false. Thus her orthodoxy seemed to be assured. Once she was released, Madame Guyon, far from finding her standing lost by these events, saw her credit increased. Few persons seemed to possess a gift of seduction equal to hers. Anyone who met her was won over to her, those who heard her were soon persuaded. Certain women venerated her as a saint. Madame de Maintenon carried a copy of the *Moyen court* with her. Now Madame Guyon made the acquaintance of Fénelon.

Fénelon (1651-1715)

The tutor of the future king of France was at this time in a position of considerable eminence. He was thirty-seven years

¹³ *Orationis mentalis analysis*, § 16, p. 91.

¹⁴ Those who most earnestly fought the errors of Madame Guyon did not present any charges against her virtue. Cf. Bossuet, *Œuvres* (Lachat ed.), XXVIII, 656.

old. Since leaving St. Sulpice in 1674, he was scarcely ever out of Paris.¹⁵ Presently his name, his earnestness, his cleverness, and his piety endeared him to many aristocratic souls. He preached often, heard confessions, gave spiritual direction, made friendships. The Archbishop of Paris in 1678 appointed him superior of the New Catholics. Having an ardent soul and an adventurous imagination, and being without any idea of the impossible, every religious chimera that he would later carry into political life, into education, and into social reform, could be found in the beginnings of his religious life. He was and always remained very pious. In his *Réfutation du système du P. Malebranche*, he could not find harsh enough epithets to qualify the monstrous doctrine which ventured thus to lower the love of God. Holiness attracted him. He wished to recognize it in himself or in others.

The memory of the great mystics of the preceding century lived in him. He knew that St. Theresa had directed not only her own daughters, but also learned and famous men.¹⁶ Without being aware of it, he was going beyond his Theresa or his Jeanne de Chantal. Madame Guyon came to him one day in October, 1688. Their meeting occurred in the country at Beynes, at the house of the Duchess de Charost. Says Saint Simon: "He saw her, their spirits were drawn to each other, their sublimity merged." "I felt," says Madame Guyon, "that this first meeting was not enough." The two went off together in the same carriage from Beynes to Paris. During the journey Madame Guyon explained to him all the principles of her doctrine. When she asked him whether they easily entered his head, he replied that they entered by the wide carriage entrance. The conquest was triumphal.¹⁷

¹⁵ After his ordination to the priesthood, he remained four years attached to the parish of St. Sulpice.

¹⁶ Letter to Madame de Maintenon, March 7, 1696.

¹⁷ Masson, *Fénelon et Mme Guyon*, p. xxx.

We wonder what would have happened if at that moment Madame Guyon had met a clear-sighted and firm spiritual director, capable of dominating her too fervid imagination and of sifting from her doctrine what was useful. Such a man might have made impossible Rousseau's blossoming of sentimentalism half a century later. Father Fénelon wished to be that man. The study of his spiritual correspondence shows him utilizing and transposing his friend's maxims. Unfortunately he was unable to free himself from the dazzling impression which that woman caused. Moreover, the misty doctrines favored too much the development of quietism.¹⁸ Even in the most approved books of spirituality, people spoke too much of the corruption of human nature; in letters they praised too much a stoical devotion; Christian philosophy was too much enamored of new theories about the union of soul and body. The Lutheran pessimism, the Jansenist stoicism, and the Cartesian dualism prepared men's minds to consider without astonishment this picture, presented by Molinos and Madame Guyon, of a soul flying to God by contemplating Him in pure love, without concerning itself with its body.¹⁹

At any rate, the incident provoked at St. Cyr in 1694 by Madame de la Maisonfort revived the old rumors about the character and doctrine of Madame Guyon. Bishop Godet des Marais of Chartres decided to intervene. Madame Guyon's doctrine was suspect. Fénelon, a close friend of Bossuet, asked him to examine the incriminated works. Madame Guyon was confined in a convent at Meaux so as to be more easily within reach of the Bishop. Soon Bishop de Noailles of Châlons and Father Tronson, superior of the seminary of St. Sulpice, were added to Bossuet. The conferences were held at Issy, in the

¹⁸ The word "quietism" is found for the first time in a letter of Caraccioli, archbishop of Naples, to Innocent XI, January 30, 1682. Cf. Bossuet, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 674.

¹⁹ Molinos developed this antithesis in the *Spiritual Guide*, Bk. III, chap. 21, nos. 210 f.

country house of the seminary. They continued for no less than nine months and ended (March 10, 1696) with the drawing up of thirty-four articles, which Fénelon signed.

Voltaire speaks with pity of "those wretched disputes of quietism . . . which would have left no trace in the memory of men but for the names of the two illustrious rivals who were engaged in the conflict."²⁰ The truth is that the discussions carried on in the shadow of the Issy seminary involved the loftiest questions. This significance is grasped by all who understand the part which true and false mysticism have played in the Church, by those who appreciate the place occupied by a St. Benedict, a St. Francis of Assisi, a St. Catherine of Siena, and a St. Theresa. It is grasped by those who note the countless disorders which have sprung up in the Church, from the Gnostics of the second century to the Spiritists of our day, all those who have made improper use of the maxims of the spiritual life. In the writings of the most highly approved saints may be found the words "pure love," "disinterested love," "contemplation," "quietude," "repose in God," "the passive state"; and the Jansenist Nicole had no right to ignore this fact.²¹ Yet we must acknowledge that these words have not always been used in their writings with all the preciseness desirable. On such capital points the least error was capable of leading to the most regrettable consequences.

The illustrious prelates chosen to cast light on the discussion viewed the question in its true bearing. In the articles of Issy they sanctioned pure and disinterested love,²² and also the prayer of contemplation or quietude, and the other extraordinary prayers, even passive prayers.²³ They likewise condemned the excessive timidity that sometimes makes people regard

²⁰ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, chap. 38.

²¹ Nicole, *Réfutation des principales erreurs quiétistes*, Bk. II, chap. 18.

²² Art. XIII.

²³ Art. XXI.

contemplation as a dangerous practice ²⁴ on the pretext of the abuse that has been made or can be made of it. But a close study of Madame Guyon's works made them perceive four chief errors in them: 1. that man's perfection consists, even during this life, in a continual act of contemplation and of love; 2. that a soul which has reached this perfection is not obliged to explicit acts distinct from that charity; 3. that this soul is indifferent with regard to all things for the body and for the soul; 4. that in the state of perfect contemplation the soul should reject all distinct ideas, and consequently even the thought of God's attributes and of the mysteries of Jesus Christ. In short, the errors of quietism were to put sublimity and perfection in things that are not, or in any case, that are not of this life.

The prelates therefore rejected "the perpetual and unique act" of pure love; but they accepted the habitual state.²⁵ They declared that the state of contemplation is compatible with acts of virtue other than charity. "These acts may not always be methodical and arranged, even less reduced in formulas and under certain words," but at least "sincerely formed in the heart, with all the holy sweetness and tranquillity which the Spirit of God inspires."²⁶ They acknowledge that holy Christian indifference regards the events of this life, the dispensation of consolations or of spiritual aridities, but not the things which have relation to salvation.²⁷ They pointed out as a dangerous error, the idea of excluding from contemplation the attributes of God and the mysteries of the incarnate Word.²⁸ They declare that without the extraordinary prayers a person can become a very great saint and attain to the perfection of Christianity.²⁹

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Art. XIX.

²⁶ Art. XII.

²⁷ Art. IX.

²⁸ Art. XXIV.

²⁹ Art. XXII.

On July 10, 1695, Fénelon, appointed archbishop of Cambrai, was consecrated by Bossuet. The good understanding seemed to be sealed. But the accord on the ideas, or at least on the terms expressing them, between Bossuet and Fénelon, let a deep divergence of tendencies subsist. The Bishop of Meaux, whose mind was not suited to follow a soul in its twists and turnings, possessed a remarkable aptitude for grasping the leading tendency.³⁰ He at once suspected dangerous reservations in Fénelon and especially in Madame Guyon. The delicate and subtle sensitiveness of the future Archbishop of Cambrai had at once perceived this disposition in Bossuet. A vague and reciprocal distrust animated the two prelates. Hence, in the case of each, their first care was to explain, each from his own viewpoint, the articles of Issy. Bossuet's commentary appeared in a pastoral letter and especially in a treatise on the states of prayer, the manuscript of which he sent to Fénelon. The Archbishop of Cambrai, noting that the writings of Madame Guyon were criticized in this latter work, refused to give it his approbation. He got ahead of Bossuet when he published his *Explication des maximes des saints* in February, 1697, a month before the *Etats d'oraison* was printed.³¹

The Maxims

A general history of the Church is not called on to follow the long discussions that divided these two great men. The theologically minded Bishop advanced relentlessly against his opponent the logically connected series of his deductions; the other bishop, who was psychologically minded, subtle and clever, dodged the shafts aimed at his *Maximes* by pointing out an overlooked meaning of his adversary. The wrathful eloquence of the former did not always restrain his blows against

³⁰ See many instances in his *History of the Variations of Protestantism*.

³¹ Lanson, *Bossuet, extraits de ses œuvres*, p. 557.

"the Montanus of a new Priscilla." The latter's sensitiveness reacted vigorously under the attack. The intervention of the Holy See put an end to a strife in which personal questions were too often interjected.

Fénelon, in the presence of the attacks against his book, did not at the outset refuse to enter into discussion with his fellow bishops. But, then seeing that an accord was impossible, he broke off the conferences and asked the King to submit his work to the judgment of the Holy See. On April 16, 1697, through the Duke of Beauvillier, Louis XIV authorized him to appeal to the Pope. The inquiry in the Roman court lasted two years. The question was a most delicate one. Fénelon in his *Maximes* began by explicitly rejecting the fundamental principle of quietism, that is, the chimerical supposition of a continual state of contemplation and prayer. In his "notice to the reader" he said that the whole plan of his book consisted in establishing four truths, namely: 1. that all the interior ways lead to pure love; 2. that the trials of the interior life have for their purpose the purification of this love; 3. that contemplation is its tranquil exercise; 4. that the unitive life, or the passive state, is its entire purity and its habitual state. But, in his attempt to sustain the doctrine of pure love, Fénelon had not succeeded in giving his expressions the exactness and precision announced in his preface.³² In Bossuet's judgment the errors of the book could be reduced to four. According to Fénelon, the soul in the habitual state of pure love: 1. loses all desire for eternal salvation; 2. it becomes indifferent for its own perfection; 3. in certain states it loses the distinct and reflective view of Christ; 4. it can make to God the absolute sacrifice of its eternal happiness. On March 12, 1699, Pope Innocent XII condemned twenty-three propositions of the *Maximes*. Fénelon submitted. He published a declaration to make known that he accepted the condemnation without reservation. His declara-

³² Gosselin, in *Œuvres de Fénelon*, IV, xcix.

tion ends thus: "Please God, it may ever be said of us that a pastor ought to bear in mind that he must be more docile than the least sheep of the flock."³³

Orthodoxy was saved. But the harm produced by the deadly error³⁴ continued. At the close of that seventeenth century, men's souls, parched and constrained by the somber moral teaching of Jansenism, aspired to move freely in love. The attempt made within the Church failed, compromised and misguided by the aberrations of a visionary. The way was open for the rationalist sentimentalism of the eighteenth century, forerunner of the revolutionary utopias.³⁵

The Age of Louis XIV

Let us not forget that the second half of the seventeenth century was not filled simply by the great controversies we have just described. This was the time when Bossuet preached his sermons and funeral orations, when Racine wrote his tragedies, Boileau his letters and satires, La Fontaine his fables, La Rochefoucauld his *Maximes*, Fénelon his *Télémaque* and his *Treatise on the Existence of God*. It was then that Madame Sévigné drew the picture of that brilliant society, that La Bruyère satirized it and that Bourdaloue denounced its hidden vices with apostolic vigor. So many marvels appeared in the

³³ It is true that Fénelon always maintained that he had never thought the condemned errors. He wrote: "In docile submission to the Pope I can indeed condemn my book as expressing what I had never meant to express. The Pope understands my book better than I have understood it; for this reason I submit. But as to my thought, I can say that I know it better than anyone else" (Fénelon, *Œuvres*, Leroux-Gaume ed., IX, 727).

³⁴ The quietism of the *Maximes des saints* had been condemned as an error, not as a heresy. Cf. Denzinger, nos. 1327-49.

³⁵ On quietism see the following: Phéliepeaux, *Relation de l'origine, du progrès et de la condamnation du quiétisme*, 1732; Gosselin, "Analyse de la controverse du quiétisme" in *Histoire littéraire de Fénelon*, 1843; Matter, *Le mysticisme au temps de Fénelon*, 1865; Guerrier, *Mme Guyon, sa vie, sa doctrine et son influence*, 1881; J. Lemaitre, *Fénelon*, 1910; Paquier, *Qu'est-ce que le quiétisme*, 1910; Bremond, *Apologie pour Fénelon*, 1910.

space of thirty years, as the fruit of seeds which the preceding ages had patiently cultivated. All those masterpieces are, in fact, the product of ancient culture and of the Christian spirit, admirably welded together.

The labor of the Renaissance and the faith of the Middle Ages there met. "Racine and Fénelon breathe the elegant purity of the finest period of Athens; Bossuet reflects the virile simplicity of Homer, and Massillon the Roman elegance of the Augustan Age; Fléchier imitates the learned art of the ancient orators; La Bruyère has something of the spirit of Seneca; Madame Sévigné studies Tacitus and recovers the vigor of his style to honor the virtues of Turenne." At the same time, the more we advance in the Age of Louis XIV, the more literature, sacred oratory, the theater, in short, all the memorable faculties of thought, take on a religious, Christian character, and, even in the general sentiments which they express, the more they evidence that return of belief in revelation, in a humanity seen in and through Christ. Herein we note one of the most striking traits and the most profound of that immortal literature.³⁶

Bossuet (1627-1704)

We have already seen the great figure of Bossuet in the controversies of Protestantism, Gallicanism, Jansenism, and quietism. We must leave to literary history the consideration of the beauty of his work. Let us simply recall the remark of a competent critic: "Above all else, Bossuet is a priest; this quality determines the form of his spirit and of his conduct: each of his works comes in its own proper time to meet an actual and precise need, with no desire for literary glory; and the service he renders to his king, his country, and his neighbor is such as a priest can do."³⁷

³⁶ Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits littéraires*, II, 5.

³⁷ Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 569.

Fénelon (1651-1715)

At the side of Bossuet, Fénelon, no less Catholic, no less a priest, but with a more seducing complexity and more disconcerting, likewise unites the culture of antiquity and the Christian spirit in his sermons, in his philosophical and pedagogical writings, and particularly in that *Télémaque*, where his whole psychology is revealed and explained. In the words of a discriminating critic, perhaps no book exists "that is more pagan and more Christian, more chimerical and more prudent, more clever and more ingenuous, no book that appears closer to the ancients when it is read superficially, and that is more removed from them when its hidden depths are sounded. It is the book of a great poet, of a genius, but lacking one of the most precious qualities of a man of genius, of a great poet, a certain simplicity of good sense which makes the eternal charm of Homer and Bossuet."³⁸

Bourdaloue (1632-1704)

When Bossuet's voice no longer spoke, his contemporaries scarcely perceived the loss because they heard Bourdaloue. More within the grasp of his hearers, clear in his explanation of doctrine, precise in his moral exhortations, and penetrating in his analysis, this worthy religious bore no trace of author or writer in any of his offices, but was occupied only with the thought of accomplishing good.³⁹ We may say that the best reply the Society of Jesus ever made to the *Provincial Letters* was to have Bourdaloue preach.

About the celebrated Jesuit other preachers honored the Christian pulpit. Such were Fléchier (1632-1710), Massillon

³⁸ Silvestre de Sacy, *Variétés littéraires, morales et historiques*, I, 64-75.

³⁹ Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du lundi*, IX, 296.

(1663-1742), and Mascaron (1634-1703). But for the time of Louis XIV to deserve the title of The Grand Age, it was enough that it heard and was able to appreciate Bossuet, Fénelon, and Bourdaloue.

PART III

THE STRIFE AGAINST UNBELIEF

PREFACING his studies on Port Royal, Sainte-Beuve asks by what mysterious cause the beauty of the seventeenth century became, as it were, suddenly dead. The next century, the eighteenth, taking little account of the ideas of its predecessor, seemed rather, except for the polish of its outward form, to be a direct continuation of the sixteenth.¹ The contrast is more apparent than real. In the preceding pages we have seen some of the causes that contributed to this result. The reaction of popular opinion against the repressions of Louis XIV ² is not sufficient to explain the religious disaffection which made its appearance almost everywhere after the death of the great King. The rigor of the Protestant and Jansenist doctrines contributed largely: it is by presenting Christianity in the somber teaching of Calvin and Jansen that Voltaire and his followers succeeded in making religion odious to a large number of his contemporaries. Moreover, Protestantism went ahead toward unbelief, Jansenism turned to rebellion, and Gallicanism, which became Josephism, made strides toward outright schism.

Parallel to this movement, the Christian sense weakened in society. Possibly the sight of the political preponderance and the material prosperity of non-Catholic countries, amply explained by natural causes, contributed to estrange some superficial minds from Catholicism.³ At any rate, among men of learning, a growing enthusiasm for the ideas of science and nature, from Descartes to Bayle, tended to make these ideas prevail over those of faith and the supernatural. In the upper classes of society the concentration of the nobility at the court

¹ Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, I, 8.

² Cf. Ranke, *Lives and Times of the Popes*, II, 484.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

and the worldly life of the salons, greatly favored the irreligion of thought and morals. Lastly, unbelieving and lukewarm Catholics joined a mysterious society, Freemasonry. All the trend of ideas tended to melt into a vague deism; all the oppositions seemed to turn to a vague dream of social renovation. The outcome of this evolution appears in two men: Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau. In Voltaire was incarnate the genius of destruction; in Rousseau, that of utopia. A clergy too much involved in worldly affairs was unable to confront the flood of unbelief with the heroic effort that might have halted it. From France, where all the currents of rationalist impiety appeared to flow together, the torrent overflowed on all Europe and there prepared the deepest and most universal of catastrophes.

CHAPTER XIII

The Last Popes of the Ancient Regime

Clement XI (1700-21)

NEVER was a heavier task imposed on the papacy. Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Albani, elected November 23, 1700, assumed the tiara under the name of Clement XI. He seemed to be designed for a most fruitful pontificate. As secretary of secret briefs, he had been in relation with all the European courts. He it was who collaborated in the drawing up of the bull published by the dying Alexander VIII against the Assembly of 1682 and in the constitution of Innocent XII against nepotism. He had favored the candidacy of Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, for the throne of Poland and that of the Duke of Anjou for the throne of Spain. Commissioned to receive and sustain the Catholic adherents of James II, who was forced, by the triumph of William of Orange, to exile himself at Rome, his intervention had a reverberation in England.

If his great experience in affairs brought him the respect of the great, his tender devotion and benevolence won him the favor of the people. Clement XI strictly observed the constitution on nepotism in which he had collaborated. His deep piety was shown in his sermons, before and after his election, on the feasts of the Church, sermons that have been largely preserved. A perfect harmony always prevailed between his private life, his public life, and his spoken word. But what talents or virtues could dominate the terrible obstacles that arose on all sides during his pontificate of twenty-one years? Neither the bull *Vineam Domini* (July 14, 1705) nor the destruction of Port

Royal by the King of France (1709) nor the bull *Unigenitus* (September 8, 1713) could restrain the growing boldness of Jansenism, which, at the same time that it disturbed all France, formed itself into a Church in Holland.

Pope Clement's policy had no greater success in Germany. In 1701 Emperor Leopold, aggravating the rupture of Catholic unity, consecrated the sacrilegious usurpation of Albert of Brandenburg by erecting the duchy of Prussia into a kingdom. The Pope's energetic protest had no other effect than to precipitate the imperial forces into Italy. A similar failure awaited him in Spain. Clement had in vain tried to maintain a strict neutrality between the two candidates, who were contesting the kingdom between them; his nuncio was driven from Madrid, and all correspondence between the Spanish bishops and the Roman court was forbidden.¹ In Poland, indeed, the candidate of the Holy See, Frederick Augustus, was victorious over Charles XII, thanks to the help of Russia; at Utrecht the envoys of the powers, after prolonged discussions, finally stipulated that whatever concerned the Catholic religion should be maintained in the state in which things were before the war.

But these were only negative triumphs, with the single result that they hindered at one point the march of a sort of conspiracy of the nations against the papacy. In Italy sad events detached Sicily from the Papal States. Even at Utrecht the European diplomacy treated of the lot of that province without the least regard for the rights of the pope. In the East a schism broke out among the Maronites; and in the Far East neither the most urgent papal bulls nor the repeated intervention of his legates was able to calm the quarrels aroused by the question of the Chinese rites or to disarm the anger of the emperor of China.

France continued to lead in the general movement of ideas. People passed from hand to hand and eagerly read two books that were forerunners of a movement that would bring about

¹ Baudrillart, *Philippe V et la cour de France*, I, 316.

the worst catastrophes. The first of these was the *Histoire des oracles*; its author, Fontenelle, criticizing the faith of the early Church, directed his attack against the foundation of Christianity.² The other book was Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, which set forth whatever, in the previous 150 years, might serve for the destruction of religion.³ These two books were but the prelude of more general and more dreadful assaults. Thus opened the eighteenth century, the century of Voltaire and Rousseau, of Joseph II and Louis XV, of Pombal and Choiseul, of the *Encyclopedia* and the Revolution.⁴

Innocent XIII (1721-24)

The movement of unbelief in the eighteenth century has some analogy with the flood of barbarism which rose even to the Holy See in the tenth century and with the invasion of paganism which reached the papal court at the time of the Renaissance. But the resemblance is not complete. The papacy of the eighteenth century entirely escaped the baleful influence: the century of Voltaire and Louis XV had no John XII or Alexander VI.

Like Alexander VII, Clement IX, Clement X, Innocent XI, Alexander VIII, Innocent XII, and Clement XI, Michelangelo Conti, who was elected pope on March 8, 1721, and crowned on May 18 under the name of Innocent XIII, belonged to a noble family of Italy. He had been trained in the highest offices of the papal administration and was commendable to all by his solid virtues. Almost all the popes of the eighteenth century have the same noble origin, the same serious training, the same worthiness of life.⁵

² Lanson, *Hist. de la littérature française*, p. 627.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

⁴ On Clement XI, see the article in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.* Cf. Reboulet, *Hist. de Clément XI*; Lafitau, *Vie de Clément XI*.

⁵ Clement XIV was the son of a physician and had not held any high offices in the papal government. The other popes belonged to the nobility and had been trained in diplomacy.

In the sacred college the traditions of the famous "flying squadron" are perpetuated, even accentuated by the group of the so-called *Zelanti*, who agreed together not to be guided in the choice by any considerations except purely religious motives. Often the action of this group was decisive. Furthermore, with good reason the college of cardinals was watchful against foreign influences. Since the ruin of the Holy Empire the sovereigns of Spain and of France had arrogated to themselves the right, concurrently with the emperor of Austria, to exclude from the papacy any candidate unacceptable to them. They said that this was the inheritance of an imperial privilege going back to the fourth century. They held that Nicholas II, when he confided the election of the pope to the cardinals alone, did not intend to abolish this right, and that Gregory XV had in a way consecrated it by calling it by its true name, the right of exclusive.⁶ We can surmise that the example of the Protestant princes, exercising an effective power over their Churches, was a further reason.

In any event, the question of the right of exclusive had been theoretically discussed among theologians and canonists. The celebrated Jesuit cardinal, De Lugo, in a work published in 1644, at the time of the conclave in which Alexander VII was elected, concluded in favor of this right, which the scholarly Cardinal Albizzi opposed in energetic terms.⁷ The question presented itself, from a *de facto* point of view, in the conclave which followed the death of Clement XI: Cardinal Conti was elected in consequence of an exclusion pronounced by Cardinal Paolucci in the name of the Emperor of Austria. Must we admit another and more positive intervention by the French gov-

⁶ Bull *Aeterni Patris*, § 18; on this right, called *exclusio* or more often *exclusiva*, see *Kirchenlexikon*, s.v. *Exclusiva*; Moroni, *Dizionario*, s.v. *Exclusiva*; Ortolan in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, III, 719-24. The last use of the *exclusiva* was made by Austria (August 2, 1903) against Cardinal Rampolla, at the conclave that elected Pius X.

⁷ No papal document ever sanctioned this right or pretended right. But the Church accepted or tolerated its exercise until the present century.

ernment, urging the election of Conti, in consideration of his written promise to close his eyes regarding those who opposed the bull *Unigenitus* and to appoint Abbé Dubois cardinal? Saint-Simon declares that such was the case.⁸ Concerning this affair, the secret reports preserved in the archives of the French Foreign Office show simply that the court of Louis XV, long favorable to the candidacy of Conti, presented a note to him containing its wishes: an expectant attitude relative to Jansenism, and the promotion of Dubois to the cardinalate. The note added: "Whoever will be elected pope can and should favor the wishes herein contained." Conti read the document and declared that he found in it nothing reprehensible. No insistence could wring from him a single word beyond this statement. After Innocent XIII's election, Dubois rejoiced at the coming of a "moderate and peace-loving" pope who "would prefer religion to every other aim."

Great hopes were placed in Innocent's pontificate. The precarious state of his health and the shortness of his reign did not allow these hopes to be realized. In his praise we may say that he took the bull *Unigenitus* under his protection against the seven French bishops who asked for its suppression, that he exercised great solicitude for the defense of the island of Malta, which was hard pressed by the Turks, and that he protested strongly against the cession by the Emperor to Don Carlos, the Infanta of Spain, of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, fiefs of the Holy See. But he had the misfortune of elevating Abbé Dubois, minister of the Duke of Orléans, to the cardinalate. Says Muratori: "The morals of this man deserved something quite different from the purple."⁹ But the pressure of the Regent was so strong that the good Pontiff, fearing lest resistance might be harmful to the religious affairs

⁸ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, XXXIV, 250.

⁹ However, he was calumniated by his enemies. See Bliard, *Dubois, cardinal et premier ministre*.

of France, finally yielded.”¹⁰ The historian Novaes says that almost all the sovereigns added their urging to that of the Duke of Orléans, and so in a way this appointment was the result of a European coalition.¹¹

The cares of governing the Church undoubtedly shortened the life of the worthy Pontiff, who died May 7, 1724. The people lamented, says Muratori,¹² the death of this pope, a man of majestic bearing, humble and kind toward the poor, but one whose efforts failed in the face of steadily growing political powers.

Benedict XIII (1724–30)

Pietro Francesco Orsini, who succeeded Innocent XIII on May 29, 1724, under the name of Benedict XIII, belonged to the Order of Friars Preachers. Charged with governing the diocese of Benevento, he there showed himself a pious pastor, vigilant over the observance of discipline and the reform of morals. His writings in theology and piety, published during his lifetime, testify to the culture of his mind and the loftiness of his soul. At the conclave he was conspicuous among the *Zelanti*. Benedict XIII brought to the chair of St. Peter the ardent and enlightened zeal which he had shown in his episcopacy. He encouraged the creation of seminaries;¹³ he published several constitutions to regulate the worldly life of the clergy, and in particular to moderate the excessive luxury of the cardinals and of the legates.¹⁴ His intervention during the Jansenist strifes was firm and prudent. He strongly prescribed the acceptance of the bull *Unigenitus*, but made it clear that he was not condemning in any way St. Augustine's teaching on grace or that of the Dominicans on predestination to glory.

¹⁰ Muratori, *Annali*, XII, 102.

¹¹ Novaes, *Elementi della storia de Sommi Pontifici*, XIII, 14.

¹² Muratori, XII, 108.

¹³ *Bullarium*, XI, Part II, 409–12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

He had the happiness to see the bull finally accepted by Cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, in 1728. In short, in the administration of Benedict XIII we find nothing to justify our calling him a great pope, even though the results of his foreign policy might permit that title.

His great fault was to give his confidence to a hypocrite, Cardinal Coscia, a venal man, whose unpopularity would be reflected on the Supreme Pontiff. By following the advice of this man and of his secretary of state, Cardinal Lercari, he was led to make regrettable concessions to various sovereigns. Victor Amadeus of Sardinia received the right to nominate to the sees of his kingdom, the King of Naples obtained the exorbitant privilege of instituting a supreme judge for ecclesiastical affairs. Benedict XIII also yielded to the excessive demand of King John V of Portugal, who asked the red hat for the Lisbon nuncio, Bichi, who was recalled to Rome by the Pope. But when the sacred college was consulted, they opposed the elevation, fearing that the Holy See would thus create a precedent and that in the future a pope would not be able to recall one of his ambassadors without being obliged to offer some compensation to the state which might be displeased with such recall.

Benedict XIII canonized a large number of saints, among them St. John of the Cross, St. Aloysius Gonzaga, St. Stanislas Kostka, St. John Nepomucene, and St. Gregory VII. He bestowed the purple on eminent priests, the most celebrated being Cardinal Fleury, future prime minister of France, and Cardinal Lambertini, who became pope under the name of Benedict XIV. Those who were intimate witnesses of his life did not hesitate to regard him as a saint.¹⁵ However, his death (February 21, 1730) was not lamented by the people. Scarcely had the rumor of the sad news spread, than a tumultuous crowd, with cries of death, rushed to the palace of the famous Car-

¹⁵ *Era riguardata qual santo* (Muratori, XII, 129).

dinal Coscia; the deceased Pope was accused of having too long favored him. The Cardinal himself was able to escape; but two members of his household were seized and taken to prison. He himself shortly afterward fell into the hands of justice and expiated, by ten years of imprisonment and by the confiscation of his property, the many malpractices that he was guilty of.¹⁶

Clement XII (1730-40)

The conclave following the death of Benedict XIII was stormy. But the name of the successful candidate seemed one calculated to calm all disturbances. It was Lorenzo Corsini, who took the name of Clement XII. His family, one of the most illustrious of Tuscany, was very rich. No one ever suspected it of turning the revenues of the Church to its own advantage. Profiting by the example of his predecessor, he gave his confidence only to worthy men. He did justice on Coscia and all his accomplices. His first care was to correct the abuses that had been introduced in the reign of Benedict XIII. His notable experience in affairs, his immense fortune, the influence of his family, created an exceptional situation for him. This he used only for the good of the Church, the solace of the poor, and the good administration of the Papal States. We see him in 1735 during a famine distribute large sums of money to the poor. He encouraged commerce and industry, reorganized the police, enriched the Vatican Library with numerous volumes,¹⁷ generously subsidized the learned Maronite Assemani, whose researches greatly profited science, and constructed several important monuments, notably the façade of St. John Lateran.¹⁸ But these deeds were the limit of his success. His foreign policy brought him no less disappointments

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹⁷ *Bullarium*, XIV, 379.

¹⁸ The monthly lottery that he instituted and that became the favorite game of the Romans, reflects less honor on his pontificate.

than Benedict XIII experienced from his. At the death of the last Farnese in 1731, he saw Spain seize Parma and Piacenza without deigning to pay him homage for those apostolic fiefs. In that same year, the Republic of Genoa haughtily repelled the Pope's mediation in a dispute it had with Corsica.

From 1733 to 1737, during the war of the Polish succession, Clement XII saw his States violated several times by the Spanish forces as well as by the imperial army. His negotiations with the court of Spain for the conclusion of a concordat dragged on. Meanwhile Philip V, impelled by his second wife, Elizabeth Farnese, imprudently meddled in ecclesiastical affairs. He demanded for his third son, then eight years old, canonical institution as archbishop of Toledo. The young eighteen-year-old King of Naples claimed for the crown the right of appointment to all benefices. Sardinia, offended by the Pope's refusal in the matter of a similar claim, abruptly broke off diplomatic relations with the Holy See. While the Catholic states were giving the Pope so many causes of grief, in northern Europe three big non-Catholic powers—Russia, Prussia, and England—were growing tremendously. This situation was not the result of the triumph of one dogma over another, of Protestantism over Catholicism; yet it would exercise a reaction upon spiritual affairs. The religious parties had strengthened themselves with the states. Russia instituted Greek bishops in the united provinces of Poland; the rise of Prussia gave the German Protestants a new feeling of independence and power; and the more the Protestant power of England succeeded in absolutely dominating the seas, the more the Catholic missions might well fear seeing their progress halted.¹⁹

But the head of the Church felt nothing more keenly than the afflictions he suffered from his own children. The new

¹⁹ Ranke, *op. cit.*

system, which was called Bourbonism and which tended to join together in one empire all the neo-Latin nations,²⁰ was unfortunately penetrated with a spirit that went back beyond Protestantism, to the jurists and humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Since the ruin of the Holy Empire, were not these combined princes, the natural protectors of the Church, the heirs of the rights of the emperors? Their jurists thought so and said so vociferously, aggravating their theory with principles coming to them, through the men of the Renaissance, from pagan antiquity. In fact, the rude Hohenstaufens, at the very height of their strife against the papacy, never thought of denying the higher principles of morality which regulate political transactions and the law of nations. But in the eighteenth century a representative of the new legal system wrote: "In political matters we must discard speculative ideas which the vulgar form about justice, equity, candor, and the other virtues. In the last analysis it all boils down to might." ²¹

The spread of such principles was the more dangerous as it coincided with an unbridled license of morals and thought. The Regency had freed from all restraint all those who had until then been kept within bounds by the presence of the great King. At least thus things were taking place at Paris. But Paris was already the center of that immense republic of cultivated minds whose coming would soon be hailed by Voltaire.

Moreover, in the Latin countries as in the Germanic countries, the network of a new society began to spread. This was a mysterious society which, born in England, had reached into France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, and Sweden: it was Freemasonry. Pope Clement XII, before descending into the tomb, had the glory of uttering the first cry of alarm against

²⁰ Baudrillart, *op. cit.*, I, 1.

²¹ De Bielfeld, *Institutions politiques*, II, chap. 4, "De la puissances des Etats," § 30.

the dangers which this association raised up for the Church and for Christian civilization. The Pope, in his bull *In eminenti* (April 23, 1738),²² said: "Public report has made Us know of the far-reaching spread of the societies or conventicles, commonly called lodges of free masons, in which, under the pretext of accomplishing duties of natural uprightness, men of every religion and sect join together by strict and occult promises, binding themselves to inviolable secrecy." The Pope in conclusion forbids all Catholics, under pain of excommunication *ipso facto*, to become members of these societies or to concur therein in any way whatever. During his reign he expended his strength in the propagation of the gospel, encouraged the missions, sending European religious to preach the faith in Tibet; in the diocese of Bisignano in Calabria he founded a seminary for young men of the uniate Greek rite. He received the abjuration of 10,000 Copts, saw the Patriarch of the Arminians remove from the dyptics the anathemas against the Council of Chalcedon, and received the brother of the Emperor of Morocco, who asked for baptism. After these considerable accomplishments, at the age of eighty-eight, weighed down with infirmities, almost blind, Clement XII peacefully ended his days on February 6, 1740. During his pontificate many servants of God died in the odor of sanctity. Such were St. Veronica Giuliani, a Capuchin, who was favored with the same extraordinary grace as St. Francis of Assisi and received on her body the stigmata of the Passion;²³ Blessed Thomas of Cori, friar minor of the Observance, who successfully preached the gospel in the territory of Subiaco;²⁴ St. John Joseph of the Cross of the same Order, in whom shone the love of prayer and the practice of the strictest poverty.²⁵

²² *Bullarium*, XIV, 236.

²³ Beatified by Pius VII (June 8, 1804).

²⁴ Beatified by Pius VI (August 18, 1786).

²⁵ Beatified by Pius VI (May 15, 1789).

Benedict XIV (1740-58)

The vacancy of the Holy See was a long one. The cardinals, who entered the conclave on February 18, 1640, were still discussing the merits of the candidates in the middle of August. Men worthy of the tiara were not lacking,²⁶ but the three factions—Italian, French-Spanish, and the *Zelanti*—held one another in check. Neither the virtuous Vincenzo Gotti, venerated for his piety, nor the able Aldrovandi, for whom European politics seemed to have no secrets, nor the ardent leader of the *Zelanti*, the camerlengo Annibale Albani, had been able to obtain the two-thirds majority required for election. The heat was becoming unbearable. Several members of the sacred college were suffering greatly from this long confinement. On August 17 Cardinal Troiano Acquaviva, minister of Spain, proposed the name of Prospero Lambertini. He was learned, well liked by everyone, of remarkable good sense and jovial humor. A few days before, someone heard him say jokingly: "If you want a saint, take Gotti; if you want a good fellow, take me." Acquaviva's proposal was like a sudden illumination for all. Amid the inextricable difficulties in which the papacy was moving, a solid good sense, a constant self-possession, and a likable good humor were indeed the outstanding qualities that ought to be expected in the head of the Church. Evidently the cardinals thought so. Cardinal Lambertini, who had received only one vote on the sixteenth, on the next day obtained them all except his own, which he cast for Cardinal Aldovrandi. Says Muratori: "God is able to disconcert all the combinations of men's policy and to make true merit triumph."²⁷

The new Pope was entering his sixty-sixth year. His contemporaries represent him as a man of medium height, a plump

²⁶ Muratori, XII, 203. Muratori died in 1750 at the age of eighty-eight. In his *Annali* he is a most valuable witness for the events of this period.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

452 LAST POPES OF THE ANCIENT REGIME

body, lively eyes, habitually pleasant countenance but easily assuming, when circumstances required, an expression of gravity that inspired respect and that commanded obedience. His conversation was brilliant, his repartee full of spirit, his judgment sound, his piety profound.

Born on March 31, 1675, of an old and honorable family of Bologna, he went through a long and laborious career at Rome in the congregations, where his serious qualities of mind, his good memory, his unusual perspicacity, and his wide knowledge were able to expand freely. But he never let himself be absorbed by his outward occupations; his tastes inclined him to study. The fruits of his labors had already appeared in important treatises, among them his learned writings on the Sacrifice of the Mass and on the canonization of saints.²⁸ Brought up in the absolutist traditions of the princes of the eighteenth century, he had grievously experienced their disadvantages. So he took hold of the government of the Church with a pronounced bent toward moderation. This policy would make him incur, and perhaps merit, the reproach of excessive condescension.

The character of his rule appeared in the very first acts of his reign. At his first consistory he relieved the unfortunate Cardinal Coscia of the censures he had incurred and freed him from imprisonment. Nepotism was odious to him. How much so, we see in a letter to his nephew Egano Lambertini, senator at Bologna, in which he writes: "You will not come to Rome until I send for you." And he never sent for him. Shortly afterward, on the subject of lending at interest, he published the celebrated encyclical *Vix pervenit* (November 1, 1743).²⁹ Its teaching was made more precise by his treatise *De synodo dioecessana*. Firmly maintaining the condemnations of the Church about usury strictly so called, that is, interest based solely on

²⁸ *De sacrificio missae, De servorum Dei beatificatione et canonizatione.*

²⁹ Benedict XIV, *Bullarium*, I, 258-60.

the fact of a loan, *ipsius ratione mutui*, Benedict XIV recognized legal titles to lawful interest, notably the privation of the enjoyment and benefit which the lender would suffer and by which the borrower would profit, *damnum emergens, lucrum cessans*.

Economic and juridical questions, which he had studied extensively, engaged the attention of the new Pope. He favored commerce, lowered customs taxes, reorganized the Roman nobility. The draining of the Pontine marshes, the navigation of the rivers, the improvement of the ports of Ancona and Civitavecchia, the restoration of the fine highways of Italy, received his care. The advancement of studies, a matter that corresponded with his personal preferences, were not less dear to him. Four academies were founded by his interest; therein were studied Roman antiquities, both profane and Christian, the history of the councils, canon law, and the liturgy. By his constitution *Sollicita ac provida* (July 10, 1753) he laid down for the Congregation of the Index the wisest regulations, requiring them, as far as possible, in the grave mission entrusted to them, to conciliate the reputation of the authors, the good of the Church, and the welfare of the faithful.³⁰ He particularly urged them to avoid condemning a book on account of an isolated proposition, because it often happens that an obscure expression is found explained by another and clearer passage in the same book.³¹ If, moreover, the author is a Catholic, of good repute for doctrine and religion, simple equity seems to require, he says, that, so far as possible, the author's words be explained favorably and that they should be taken in a good sense.³²

Benedict XIV used to relax from the labors of his office in the company of scholars and literary men. He carried on a

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-54; Constitution *Sollicita*, § 20.

³¹ *Ibid.*, § 18.

³² *Ibid.*, § 19.

correspondence not only with Montfaucon, Maffei, Muratori, but also with Frederick II and even with Voltaire. When this last dedicated his tragedy *Mahomet* to him, the Pope replied by a letter that was most courteous, for which Voltaire hastened to thank him.

Benedict's relations with the various courts of Europe were marked by a spirit of friendliness that some writers regard as weakness. He seemed to pursue quite willingly a policy of concessions which Benedict XIII had been forced to adopt reluctantly. In the first years of his pontificate he granted to the king of Portugal an extensive patronage over benefices; the next year he sanctioned by his authority the institution in the Two Sicilies of a court of justice in which lay judges would sit and which would judge ecclesiastics in the first instance; Sardinia and Spain obtained analogous rights; the Pontiff, far from lamenting over this, thought only of rejoicing over the peace and good harmony that resulted from this state of affairs: the king of Sardinia received the title of Vicar of the Holy See, and the king of Portugal that of Most Faithful King. The king of Prussia, whom the papal chancery had until then called the margrave of Brandenburg, was officially recognized by Benedict XIV. Expressions of good will came to him from all sides: Empress Elizabeth of Russia showered on him marks of esteem, and the Grand Turk paid him compliments.

His spirit of conciliation applied not only to matters of discipline; it extended to the more strictly religious questions of dogma and morals that were so greatly stirring up the minds of that time. Appealed to by the Assembly of the Clergy of France to decide as arbiter in the lively dispute which divided the Catholics regarding the affair of refusing the sacraments to those who opposed the bull *Unigenitus*, Benedict XIV in 1756 declared that submission to the bull was a duty, but that the public administration of the sacraments need be refused only to notorious opponents. He took up the defense of the

Augustinians Noris, Berti, and Belelli, who were accused of perpetuating Baianism.³³

There were few popes who accorded to the Society of Jesus so many privileges and so many laudatory and cordial apostolic letters.³⁴ Of all the heads of religious orders, the general of the Jesuits was the only one who had free access to the Pope every week. But the Pope condemned Father Colonia's *Bibliothèque janséniste*, Father Pichon's *Esprit de Jésus-Christ et de l'Eglise sur la fréquent communion*, and, at the request of the minister Pombal, he appointed (April 1, 1758) Cardinal Saldanha visitator apostolic of the Jesuits of Portugal, "commissioned to inform himself thoroughly about whatever concerns the Company and to make a detailed report to the pope."³⁵

Benedict XIV's great piety edified the pilgrims who came to Rome for the jubilee of 1750. But his decrees reducing the number of feast days, which had become too numerous in Spain, Austria, Sicily, Sardinia, Tuscany, and his own States, gave him, in the eyes of the philosophers, the reputation of being a liberal pope. That same conciliatory and tolerant attitude enabled him to calm the disturbances that had arisen among the Maronites and to see an enduring revival in Syria of the Greek Uniate patriarchate, known as Melchite. His charities made him popular. He praised his predecessor, Benedict XIII, when he said: "We love that Pontiff, who had his carriage backed up to avoid a dispute with a cartdriver." And he attempted to make his own conduct conform to that example. Even the Protestants tended to be converted after hearing him. One English lord said that the Pope would make them all papists if he should come to London.

³³ Hurter, *Nomenclator*, III, 3.

³⁴ De Ravignan, *Clément XIII et Clément XIV*, p. 70. Cf. the following bulls: *Devotam* (1746); *Gloriosa Domine* (1748); *Quantum recessu* (1755).

³⁵ Ravignan, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-72. On the following May 15, Benedict XIV being then dead, the cardinal visitator declared that the Portuguese Jesuits had carried on an unlawful and scandalous business affair.

However, Benedict never forgot to perform the duties essential to his office. Voltaire, taking unfair advantage of the interest which the Pope showed him on the occasion of his tragedy of *Mahomet*, endeavored to make people believe that the head of the Church was favorably disposed to him: Benedict XIV, by a decree of February 22, 1753, condemned the edition of Voltaire's works. The Freemasons had spread a report that, since the coming of Benedict XIV, his predecessor's bull *In eminenti* had ceased to be obligatory; but Benedict XIV, by his bull *Providas* (May 18, 1751), forcibly renewed the prohibitions issued by Clement XII.³⁶ The Jansenists, on the basis of his condescension toward them, also tried to give out the impression that he was favorable to the errors of their party. Such was the aim of an anonymous work entitled, *Apologie des jugements rendus par les tribunaux séculiers en France contre le schisme*. The same was the purpose of a volume by Father de la Borde, *Principes sur l'essence, la distinction et les limites des deux puissances*. But the Pope condemned the former work as favoring the schism, and the latter as formally heretical.³⁷

Benedict's deeply religious sense appeared especially in his writings, in which this great Pontiff seems to have put the best part of his soul. Everybody agrees that his work on the canonization of the saints treats the subject exhaustively. The treatise *De synodo dioecesano*, seeming to discuss merely a transient act of diocesan administration, lays down for the bishops the most prudent rules on a large number of points that have daily application. The passing of time has confirmed the authority of these two monuments of ecclesiastical science.

Benedict XIV died on May 3, 1758. To the very end he preserved his gentle serenity and left behind him a universally venerated memory. After his death, Count de Rivera of Pied-

³⁶ *Bullarium*, III, 167-69.

³⁷ Decree of November 20, 1752, and brief of March 4, 1755.

mont wrote: "Unheard-of wonder! The people say nothing ill of the dead Pope, not even Pasquin." Posterity's judgment of Benedict XIV seems to ratify the opinion of Walpole's son which was set forth on a monument erected at London in honor of this Pope: "A pontiff beloved by the Catholics, esteemed by the Protestants, humble, unselfish, a monarch without any favorite, a pope without nepotism, a censor without severity, and a doctor without pride."³⁸

Clement XIII (1758-69)

Benedict XIV's good sense undoubtedly kept him from misunderstanding the times: the benevolent atmosphere of peace that surrounded his person could be nothing more than a truce. The political movement and the intellectual movement against which the papacy had been obliged to strive were too powerful not to reappear with new power at the first opportunity. This reappearance would be formidable. In this aggregation of European peoples, which had been formed from the debris of medieval Christianity, we see that a league was formed in the eighteenth century: the league of the northern powers against Poland. And we see a circumstance in which the powers of the West and the South will in concert pursue a common aim: the suppression of the Jesuits.³⁹ Furthermore, in that same century, we will discover a single institution in which will coalesce, for an attack on the Church, the various intellectual movements and the social aspirations of that period: this institution was Freemasonry.⁴⁰

Meanwhile leagues of princes and literary coteries had but

³⁸ Muratori, *Contin.*, XIII, 182.

³⁹ Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, I, 67.

⁴⁰ Schlegel, in his lectures on the philosophy of history, given at Vienna in 1826, pointed to the important part taken by Freemasonry in the eighteenth century. See Schlegel, *Philosophy of History*, pp. 455 ff.

one objective, the destruction of the Jesuits. The question of the continuation or the suppression of the Society of Jesus did, in fact, seem to exercise a preponderant concern over the minds of the cardinals during the conclave. Would the new Pope be favorable or unfavorable to the Jesuits? We are told that on June 28, 1758, just when Cardinal Calvalchini, who the day before had obtained twenty-seven votes, was about to be elected, Cardinal de Luynes in the name of France gave notice of the exclusive against him. The reason was not hard to see: Calvalchini was known for his attachment to the Society of Jesus and had voted for the canonization of Bellarmine, the defender of the rights of the Holy See against the claims of the princes. The representative of France made himself the interpreter of all the Bourbon courts. All looks then turned to Cardinal Rezzonico, bishop of Padua. He was born at Venice, in 1693. Benedict XIII had appointed him an auditor of the Rota, Clement XII made him a cardinal, and Benedict XIV a bishop. Highly esteemed for his virtue and for his theological and canonical learning, he had been closely associated with the government of Pope Benedict XIV, who held him in high regard. On July 5, 1758, Rezzonico received the required number of votes and took the name of Clement XIII.

His election was welcomed with universal satisfaction, which failed to foresee the countless contradictions with which his pontificate would soon be confronted. Abbé Clement, the future constitutional bishop, who had been sent to Rome by the Jansenists to influence the conclave, was lavish in his praise of the new Pope's exemplary life and boundless charity. The famous astronomer Lalande even went beyond this eulogy.

The new Pope took advantage of these good dispositions toward him for his zealous labors to correct all the abuses and to encourage all good works. One of his first acts was to remind all the bishops of the world of their duty to reside in their dioceses and there to act like men of prayer and doctrine and

to be fathers of the poor and angels of peace.⁴¹ Continuing at Rome the sort of labor that had won him the veneration of his people of Padua, he reformed and favored several corporations of artisans,⁴² issued many ordinances about the good administration of the Papal States, moderated the regime of the Roman prisons,⁴³ encouraged the *montes pietatis*,⁴⁴ urged the teaching of Christian doctrine to the people,⁴⁵ and provided new regulations for the library and the museums of the Vatican.⁴⁶

But at the very outset of his pontificate Clement found himself confronted with the affair that would be the torment of his reign until the very end: the suppression of the Society of Jesus, demanded by almost all the Catholic courts.⁴⁷ An attempt on the life of Joseph I of Portugal (September 3, 1758) served as a pretext for the Portuguese prime minister, the Marquis de Pombal, to imprison 221 Jesuits and to cast all the others on the shores of the Papal States. Less than four years later (January 16, 1762) Louis XV of France, upon the advice of the Marquise de Pompadour, requested that the Pope designate, for the French Jesuits, a special vicar general, almost independent of the general of the Order. Soon after this (August 6) the Parliament of Paris, presently followed by the other parliaments of the country, pronounced the suppression of the Society of Jesus within its jurisdiction. On February 27, 1767, King Charles III of Spain signed a decree banishing all the Jesuits from his realm and his colonies. The young Duke of Parma, grandson of Louis XV and nephew of Charles III, issued a decree (January 14, 1758) forbidding admission into his states for any papal bull, brief, or other document unless it had received his *Exequatur*.

⁴¹ Barberi, *Bullarii romani continuatio*, I, 27.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I, 34, 195-201; II, 178-80; III, 85-100.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, II, 271-77.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 81, 203, 276-382.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 134-36.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-64.

⁴⁷ J. de la Servière, art. "Clément XIII" in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, III, 115.

Certain other affronts were more painful to the heart of the Pontiff, those coming from his friends, from those on whom he had showered special testimonies of his benevolence. Maria Theresa, the queen of Hungary, on whom the Pope had just conferred the title of Apostolic Majesty, and her son Joseph II, whom he had recommended to the electors of the Empire, refused to intervene with the Bourbon courts in favor of the persecuted religious. Venice, the Pope's native land, favored the intrusion of a schismatic clergy in the church of St. George, built for the sake of the Uniate Greeks. Genoa, in whose favor the papacy had often offered its mediation to appease the disputes that were rending it, promised a reward of 10,000 ecus to anyone who would deliver into its hands the papal legate sent to visit Corsica.

Not one of these outrages was consummated without the Pontiff raising his voice, now sadly, now forcibly. But, for the most part, these protests merely stirred up resentment. These attacks had their source in a state of mind which continued to spread in Europe and which would lead to the crisis of the Revolution. Jansenism, Gallicanism, and unbelief took root in men's minds. The Jansenists, largely sustained by the parliaments, continued their opposition to the bull *Unigenitus*; the Holland group, erected into a Church, held its first synod in 1764. Loménie de Brienne, minister of Louis XV and archbishop of Toulouse, decided, without any recourse to Rome, the gravest questions of canon law, set back the age required for vows, limited the number of convents in cities, and suppressed the monasteries where the subjects were few in number. In Germany the cumulation of bishoprics and the granting to lay courts the right to try clerics proceeded from the same spirit of independence of the secular powers with regard to the authority, even spiritual, of the Holy See. Clement protested vigorously against so evident a violation of his rights.⁴⁸ Helvetius'

⁴⁸ Barberi, *Bull.*, I, 42; II, 82; III, 7, 152.

Esprit, the *Encyclopedia* of Diderot and Alembert, Rousseau's *Emile*, all these spread the doctrines of a philosophy hostile to every idea of the supernatural, sometimes to every idea of sound morality. Clement condemned several Jansenist books, including the *Exposition de la doctrine chrétienne* of Mésenguy and the *De statu Ecclesiae* of Febronius (Nicholas of Hontheim, auxiliary of Trier), and pointed to the rebel attitude of the sect as one of the causes of the decadence of morals and faith.⁴⁹ A brief of January 31, 1759, proscribed the *Esprit* of Helvetius as a work subversive not only of Christian doctrine, but also of the law and of natural uprightness.⁵⁰ A decree of September 3 of the same year referred to the *Encyclopedia* as containing false doctrines, leading to contempt of religion and corruption of morals.⁵¹ On October 26, 1763, Clement approved the condemnation of *Emile* by the Sorbonne.⁵² Lastly (November 25, 1766), in the face of the increasing diffusion of irreligious books, he addressed a remarkable encyclical to all the bishops of the Catholic world, pointing out the extreme danger which the Church and human society was running from the publications of the so-called philosophers. In this encyclical he said:

The enemy of all good has sowed the evil seed in the Lord's field; and the evil plant has grown. It threatens to stifle the good harvest. . . . The time has come to use the scythe. . . . Brethren, there is nothing which the impious men of our day do not venture to attack. God, the great God who watches over our souls and who speaks to them, Him they have represented as a dumb, inert Being, who exercises neither providence nor justice. Our soul, that soul which the Creator has raised to a dignity scarcely below the nature of angels, this soul, they say, must die. For them matter is everything, or at least it dominates everything. . . . And even those who reject these errors do not hesitate to scrutinize haughtily our mysteries and to

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 828, 835.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 88.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁵² *Ibid.*, II, 419.

subject everything to their reason. . . . The peril is the greater as the books propagating such doctrines are cleverly composed and are written with considerable art. They reach out everywhere, spreading their evil poison far and wide. . . . Venerable brethren, we conjure you, see to it that in all places the ministers of Jesus Christ endeavor, each according to his position and the available means of action, to denounce the peril and to combat it by word and works. Beg the Christian rulers to take up the defense of the suffering Church.⁵⁸

Clement XIII did still more. Not content with denouncing to the entire world the dissolving and fatal doctrines of Jansenism, Gallicanism, and philosophism, he had the consolation and glory of indicating to the Christian world a life-giving devotion, which alone can regenerate it: the devotion to the love of God under the symbol and through the cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

For more than a century past, the devotion to the Savior's humanity, considered in His heart of flesh, the symbol of His love, had spread among pious souls. In 1674 Father Eudes had been authorized by Clement X to establish in his congregation a feast of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. About the same time, while the withering doctrines of Jansenism entered deeper and deeper into Christian life, and only a cold and abstract rationalism prevailed in philosophic thought, a humble nun of the Visitation, kneeling in the chapel at Paray-le-Monial, had a vision of the Savior showing her His heart inflamed with charity. The divine Master, complaining of the coldness and outrages He met with among Christians, expressed to her His ardent desire to be loved by men, to place them, as by a loving redemption, in the sweet freedom of the empire of His love. He asked of her the establishment of a public cult of His Sacred Heart. Thus the devotion of the Sacred Heart was introduced into a new phase.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 225-27.

The Jesuits became increasingly its earnest promoters. Under their prompting, petitions in great numbers went to Rome, asking the Holy See to establish a feast in honor of the Sacred Heart. Clement XIII thought the time had come to accede to these desires. On February 2, 1765, he published a decree of the Congregation of Rites,⁵⁴ by which "the Congregation, considering that by this devotion is symbolically renewed the memory of that divine love by which the only Son of God, clothed with human nature and obedient unto death, has said that He gave the example of being meek and humble of heart," fully acquiesced in the petitions that were made. The next July 17 the Assembly of the Clergy of France, at the solicitation of Queen Marie Leczinska, wife of Louis XV, expressed the wish that the feast of the Sacred Heart should be established in the dioceses where it did not yet exist. In spite of the clamors that arose in the camp of the Jansenists and in the camp of the deist philosophers of the time, the devotion to the Sacred Heart, which led piety back to the cult of Christ's humanity, by considering especially in that humanity the symbol of love, invigorated the Christian spirit by turning it to its purest sources. By the memorable decree of 1765, Jansenism received a terrible blow. And the Jesuits, at the very time when they were expelled from almost all the Catholic countries, at any rate saw the triumph of one of their most cherished devotions.

The gentle and devout Clement XIII died on the night of February 2, 1769. The proceedings of the conclave following his death showed that the enemies of the Society of Jesus had not disarmed and that the suppression of the celebrated Society was still the chief aim of the European courts. The cardinals of these courts had as their mission the election of a pope hostile to the Jesuits.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵⁵ Ravignan, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

Clement XIV (1769-74)

After four months of intrigues, Cardinal Lorenzo Ganganelli was unanimously elected. The Spanish cardinals strove vainly to wrench from him a written promise to suppress the Society of Jesus. If we are to believe the testimony of Bernis, the representative of France at the conclave, they had to be satisfied with a writing that was not at all obligatory, in which Ganganelli, as a theologian, said that he thought the Sovereign Pontiff could in conscience wipe out the Society of the Jesuits, by following canonical regulations and the rules of prudence and justice.

Giovanni Vincenzo Ganganelli, was born near Rimini. His father was a physician. Giovanni had made profession in the Cordeliers under the name of Lorenzo. In the various posts which he filled, whether as professor or as a member of the Roman congregations, he had shown himself a good religious, a learned theologian, and an amiable character. He was the only religious of the conclave. We know what close bonds connected him to the founder of the Passionists, Paul of the Cross. His opposition to certain acts of firmness by Clement XIII won him the good will of the Bourbon courts, without alarming the groups of the Zelanti. In memory of Pope Clement XIII, to whom he owed his elevation to the purple, he took the name of Clement XIV.

His encyclical on the occasion of his taking possession of the Holy See indicates what would be the dominant idea of his reign: to keep peace with the Catholic courts, to obtain their support against the increasing irreligion. He wrote: "At what period did the world ever see such pernicious opinions rise up? When did we ever behold men, seduced by the charms of novelty, led by a sort of avidity toward a strange science, allow themselves so foolishly to be drawn toward it and to seek it with such excessive eagerness?" Then, addressing the princes,

as "Ministers of God established for man's good," he implores them "to love the Church as their mother and to defend her rights." Bishops and priests were exhorted "to teach the people not only to obey the rulers, but also to honor them and love them; for they labor effectively for two things that cannot be separated: the tranquillity of the state and the good of the Church."⁵⁶

To mark his desire for conciliation, Clement XIV decided to suppress the annual publication of the bull *In coena Domini*, which contained strong allegations that contributed to embitter the preceding quarrels. It was even said that he intended to amend it, adapting it to the needs of modern times.⁵⁷ The first promotion of cardinals included the brother of the prime minister of Portugal, Paul de Carvalho. Active negotiations resulted in an ordinance of Joseph I, granting free communication with Rome. The painful incidents which had made the Holy See's relations with Parma so difficult were ended by a benevolent act of the Pontiff, who graciously accorded the dispensations needed by the Infanta for his marriage with his cousin, Archduchess Maria Amelia, daughter of Maria Theresa.⁵⁸ The political horizon was once more serene.

But the Pope was quite aware that the burning question was still that of the suppression or the continuance of the Jesuits. This cloud on the horizon threatened to let loose a storm. The tempest broke out on the occasion of the brief of July 12, 1769, encouraging the missions of the Society of Jesus in infidel countries. The complaints of the governments of France and of Europe went to the point of insolence. Duke de Choiseul even intimated an ultimatum to the Supreme Pontiff. To Cardinal de Bernis he wrote: "It is of the utmost urgency that His Holiness decide. The delay granted him to form a plan and carry it

⁵⁶ Theiner, *Clementis XIV epistolae et brevia*.

⁵⁷ Theiner, *Hist. du pontificat de Clément XIV*, I, 480.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

out must not be more than two months. . . . When this time has expired, the sovereigns of the house of Bourbon cannot be prevented from breaking off all communication with a pope who is simply amusing us or who is useless to us.”⁵⁹ Clement XIV sought to gain time. He wrote to Louis XV (September 29) that he needed certain documents in order to examine the affair maturely.⁶⁰ The reply of the King of France was haughty. He said: “Your Holiness is too enlightened not to be persuaded that, by making use of the sovereign right belonging to our crowns, when we have judged it fitting, the King my cousin, the King my nephew, and I myself, to banish from our states a society which has appeared to us dangerous, we have at the same time thoroughly examined the just motives which determined our course.”⁶¹ Charles III of Spain was even more urgent. The Pope’s declarations, while maintaining the need of personal information, had to be more condescending and more precise to calm the irritation. To the King of Spain he wrote (November 30, 1769): “We have now gathered the documents. . . . We shall submit to the examination of Your Majesty a plan for the absolute extinction of that Society. Your Majesty will receive it shortly.”⁶²

All was certainly not weakness and mere diplomacy in Clement’s attitude. The Pope seems to have been convinced, as Benedict XIV had been, of the existence of certain abuses in the famous Society and of the need of providing some remedy for them. To induce patience in the courts and to wait for a more favorable moment for his moderating action, he was eager to give the crowns some pledge of his intentions. He took away from the Jesuits the Frascati seminary and the Greek college;⁶³ with extreme rigor he ordered an inspection of the

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 371; Ravignan, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

⁶⁰ Theiner, *Epistolae*, p. 31.

⁶¹ Theiner, *Histoire*, I, 393.

⁶² Theiner, *Epistolae*, p. 33; Ravignan, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

⁶³ Theiner, *Histoire*, I, 381.

Roman College.⁶⁴ But he failed to count on the obstinate fierceness of the powers. On July 4, 1772, the Spanish court plainly threatened the Pope with a schism.⁶⁵ In return for his condescension, he was given to expect the restitution of Avignon and of Benevento, detained by France and Spain. At this attempt at bargaining, the Pope's pride revolted. He replied that he did not traffic in these matters.⁶⁶

For some time the courts of Spain and France, after a search of their archives, accumulated their grievances against the Society: moral laxity, a spirit of intrigue, love of money, the formation of a formidable international power dangerous to the peace of the nations and even of the Church. The Pope adopted additional measures of rigor against the Jesuits: inspections, trials, confiscations, vexations of every kind, to such a point, says a historian, "that in less than a month the Jesuits in the Roman states would have disappeared as a body without any general suppression of the Order being decreed." But the implacable minister of Spain wrote: "It is in vain that one distresses these poor people. A single word suffices: abolition."⁶⁷ Clement XIV withdrew in retreat for several weeks, then he signed (July 21, 1773) the celebrated brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, which was not published until the following August 16.

After appealing to the supreme right of the papacy, used by his predecessors more than once, to reform and to dissolve religious orders that were pernicious and more calculated to disturb the tranquillity of peoples than to procure it for them, the Pontiff then comes to the Society of Jesus. "Almost at its birth," he says, "it saw take root in its bosom different germs of discord and jealousy which not only divided its members but also led them to rise up against the other religious orders, against

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 361-402.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 242.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 241; Ravignan, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁶⁷ Ravignan, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

the secular clergy, academies, universities, colleges, public schools, even against sovereigns who had admitted them into their states." Of all the grievances accumulated against the Society, he specifically takes note only of this one: that the Jesuits had brought disturbance into society. He resolutely discards the charges against the morals and orthodoxy of the Order and merely mentions the accusations of pride, ambition, and cupidity, without agreeing that such charges were well founded.

The supreme head of the Church concludes thus: "Prompted by the Holy Spirit, as we are convinced we are, impelled by the duty of restoring concord in the bosom of the Church, convinced that the Society of Jesus can no longer render the services for which it was founded, and determined by other reasons of prudence and wisdom in the matter of governing, reasons which we keep enclosed in our soul, we abolish and destroy the Society of Jesus, its functions, its houses, and its institutes." ⁶⁸

One of the most illustrious of the sons of St. Ignatius has written the account of the execution of this brief, which was the most painful trial of his fathers. He says: "August 16, 1773, a day of painful memory, had arrived. About nine o'clock in the evening a certain prelate, Macedonio by name, came to the Gesù. To the father general he presented the official announcement of the brief which suppressed the Company throughout the world. Macedonio was accompanied by soldiers and police officers, for the purpose of maintaining order, which probably no one had any thought of disturbing. At the same hour, likewise by order of the Pope, other distinguished prelates and ecclesiastics brought information of the brief to the rectors of all the other colleges and houses that the Jesuits had in Rome. These men also, accompanied by soldiers and notaries for the same purpose, placed seals on the archives, on the

⁶⁸ *Bullarium*, IV, 619.

account books, the sacristies. Until the issuance of new orders, the Jesuits were forbidden to exercise any kind of ecclesiastical functions, such as preaching, hearing confessions; and for a while they were also forbidden to go out of their houses.

"The next day, August 17, the general was brought to the English College, which served him as his prison until he was transferred to the Castle Sant' Angelo. Soon the assistants and several other members of the Order shared the lot of the general.

"There began the memorable trial of the head and the principal superiors of the extinct Society, a trial that lasted more than two years and that was not followed by any sentence."⁶⁹

Shortly after the promulgation of the brief a former member of the dissolved Society, Father Corbara, wrote: "I think that no one can condemn the Pontiff who, after so many hesitations, considered that he could rightly condemn the Company of Jesus. I love my Order as much as anyone does; yet, placed in the same situation as the Pope, I do not know but that I would have acted as he did. The Company, founded for the good of the Church, perished for that same good: it could not have found a more glorious end."

Two unorthodox sovereigns, Frederick of Prussia and Catherine of Russia, sustained the Jesuits against the Pope. On their orders, the bishops of Silesia and of White Russia refrained from promulgating the brief in their dioceses; and, as such promulgation was the canonical condition of its execution, the Jesuits who sought refuge in those two countries considered that they might continue their life in common and their ministry.

In the Catholic courts for a time it might be thought that the hostilities were over. In Portugal the nuncio was received amid joyous manifestations; Maria Theresa and Louis XV, at the Pope's solicitation, refused to encourage the application

⁶⁹ Ravignan, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

of the ideas of Febronius.⁷⁰ King Charles III of Spain had Clement XIV approve an order of chivalry devoted to the Immaculate Conception. But the appeasement was only superficial: the hostility toward the Church remained profound. The immediate effect of the suppression of the Jesuits "was felt in all Catholic countries. The Jesuits had been persecuted and hated especially because they defended the most rigorous doctrine of the supremacy of the Holy See. People pretended to believe that the Pope, in allowing them to fall, was renouncing that doctrine and its consequences. The philosophical and religious opposition had, so they said, won the victory. The outer ramparts were taken. The attack by the victorious party must begin again with still more energy."⁷¹

The sight of this renewal of hostility against Catholicism clouded the last days of Clement XIV, who died piously, assisted by St. Alphonsus Liguori, on September 22, 1774. He had had the joy of seeing the daughter of Louis XV, Madame Louise of France, enter the Carmelite Order,⁷² the patriarch of the Armenians and his six suffragan bishops renounce the errors of Eutyches in 1771; and about the same time almost all the country of the Szeklers in Hungary abandon Socinianism and return to the Catholic Church;⁷³ he had blessed and canonically approved the Congregation of the Passionists; but he derived no consolation from the great scandals that afflicted the Church during his last years: the "apostolic" empress, Maria Theresa, took part in the shameful partition of Poland; "the most Christian King," Louis XV, subjected to his visa the publication and execution of all papal letters, even those addressed to private persons; the most sectarian Jansenism penetrated the Austrian universities through the Dutchman

⁷⁰ Theiner, *Histoire*, I, 420; II, 428.

⁷¹ Ranke, *op. cit.*, II, 498.

⁷² L. de la Brière, *Madame Louise de France*.

⁷³ Theiner, *Histoire*, II, 272; Ravignan, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

Van Swieten; in France philosophism triumphed through the public homages paid to Voltaire.

Favored by the parliaments and sometimes by the princes, Gallicanism and Jansenism were following the path that would lead them to the Synod of Pistoia and to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy; hailed in the salons of the eighteenth century, philosophical deism advanced with great strides along the path leading it to the declaration of the rights of man and to the feast of reason. The French Revolution, which appeared to some as the subversion of the old European world, to others as its regeneration, was merely the natural and necessary sequence of the history of Europe.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Sorel, *op. cit.*, I, 3.

CHAPTER XIV

Development of Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century

Protestantism in Germany

IN Germany the failure of the syncretist attempt had brought about a threefold orientation of the Protestants: some went individually to Catholicism, such as Duke Christian August von Holstein in 1705, Ulric von Brunswick in 1710, Count von Nassau Siegen in 1729, Duke Charles Alexander von Württemberg in 1733, Margrave William of the Rhine Palatinate in 1769, and Margrave Charles William in 1771; others in discouragement became weak in their faith; still others, to satisfy their inner need of belonging to an organized Church, gathered more closely about their princes. The most remarkable of these groups was formed in Prussia under King Frederick William I. From 1713 to 1740 the Prussian monarch administered and regulated the national Church, claiming for himself the functions of supreme bishop and exercising them with military, meticulous, and despotic harshness, which was the most characteristic trait of his temperament.

Under his impulsion, attempts were made to fuse all the Protestant denominations into a single official religion. The regime of the Lutheran consistories, dependent on the king, tended to replace, even among the Calvinists, the regime of synods. The pastors were regarded as royal functionaries. Frederick William I wrote (December 24, 1729): "The Protestant princes of Germany, in virtue of the *summum jus circa sacra*, should be regarded as popes over their territory." By speaking thus the Lutheran king rendered involuntary homage

to the Catholic organization, which he profaned while imitating it. But his supreme power would turn against Christianity itself; for his son and successor, Frederick II, a prince devoid of any religious principle, made use of his authority to favor anti-Christian rationalism in his states.

A dissolving dualism ruined German Protestantism even in its doctrine. Supernaturalism and rationalism until the end of the eighteenth century vied with each other for the mastery of Protestant theology. Between these two theological instincts the divergences were notable, since apparently the former led to integral faith and the latter to absolute negation; yet they resembled each other in their way of viewing the religious problem. Supernaturalists and rationalists disputed over the content of Christianity. The former tried by every device to hold it intact; the latter set themselves to whittling it away piecemeal. The theological discussions amounted to questions of more or less; they were bargaining over Christian revelation.¹ Some thinkers, Semler (1725-91) and Lessing (1729-81), took alarm at this decadence; but the remedy which they offered was simply a further dissolvent. Lessing wrote that it matters not that religion is unable to reply to the objections of reason, if only it leaves to the heart of Christians an inner sentiment of the dogmas it announces. A Protestant rationalist of the nineteenth century, Adolph Harnack, has celebrated that emancipating phrase,² which, developed and pushed to its extreme consequences, might be the motto of the liberal Protestantism of the twentieth century. In 1679 Lessing himself provided a most significant commentary to his thought, when he maintained that all religions are equally false.³

The issues of pietism were not more reassuring than those of syncretism. The most striking representative of pietism in the eighteenth century was the Swedish visionary, Emmanuel

¹ Goyau, *L'Allemagne religieuse, Le protestantisme*, pp. 72-74.

² Harnack, *Das Christentum und die Geschichte*, p. 18.

³ Lessing, *Nathan der Weise*.

Swedenborg, a man remarkable in some respects for the extent of his knowledge and the vigor of his mind, but a man who, by his tendency to illuminism, was thrown into the strangest fancies. For him the center and heart of every religion is the Incarnation. "The faith of man," he says, in a formula susceptible of a profound sense, "is comparable to a look cast up towards the heavens, and would be utterly lost in the vague and immeasurable; but through Christ it hath received its proper object and is, thereby, become more definite." ⁴ Yet the actual world is in darkness. He declares that it is Christian only in name, and no longer has anything spiritual about it.⁵ But the new Jerusalem will come down from heaven as soon as Swedenborg achieves his great work, the *Vera christiana religio*. Says Moehler:

Swedenborg is really exalted to be the centre-point of all history, and to hold the place of the true Redeemer; with him, and not with Christ, the golden age returns. The translations of Swedenborg's writings find, as we hear, a very great sale in and out of Germany, and the number of his followers daily increases. . . . The yearning soul of man is not to be satisfied with such idle talk; and when you take from it true miracles, it will then invent false ones. Our age is doomed to witness the desolate spectacle of a most joyless languor, and impotence of the spiritual life, by the side of the most exaggerated and sickly excitement of the same; and if we do not, with a living and spiritual feeling, return to the doctrine of the Church, we shall soon see the most wretched fanaticism obtain the same ascendancy, as we saw the most frivolous unbelief established on the throne.⁶

Protestantism in England

In England, at the coming of William of Orange, the cause of Anglicanism seemed lost, or at least much endangered. Wil-

⁴ Moehler, *Symbolism*, Part II, chap. 4, p. 466.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 450.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 464.

liam was a latitudinarian; personally he experienced no scruple in receiving Communion according to the Anglican rite, but he had little concern about knowing in what rite his subjects received Communion.⁷ But the dynasty that succeeded the Stuarts possessed a title that was parliamentary rather than hereditary. Henceforth the king's supremacy signified the supremacy of the Parliament. And the Parliament was composed of dissidents, skeptics, or indifferents, ready to decide religious questions on the basis of political considerations.⁸ But the Established Church and the state had a common enemy, the fallen dynasty, which sought to seize the power again: this is what united them. The Anglican Church thus had, from purely political reasons, a new *raison d'être*. In 1701 the lower house of the convocation of Canterbury denounced the dangerous tendencies of the bishop of Bangor, Hoadly, who preached in favor of religious liberty.

The government refused to the Anglican clergy the right to meet in convocations or assemblies. It said that the clergy possessed enough influence by its wealth; it had furthermore enough defenders in the person of the bishops sitting in the House of Lords.⁹ Thus organized, the Anglican Church continued to strive against the Catholic influence. In the middle of the eighteenth century an English tribunal declared that the law did not recognize any Catholics in the realm. Not until 1779 were the Catholics assimilated with the other dissidents for the exercise of their private rights. They were always excluded from political office, municipal and judicial. The Established Church showed itself less severe toward the latitudinarian or rationalist tendencies of its own members. Of these several profited by that tolerance to profess doctrines which were far removed from the very foundations of Christianity.

⁷ Macaulay, *History of England*, chap. 11.

⁸ Wilberforce, *An Enquiry into the Principles of Church Authority*.

⁹ Hallam, *Constitutional History of England*, III, 247.

Protestantism in France

In France the situation of the Protestants was quite different. The royal power considered them not only dissidents in religion but also adversaries ever ready to become conspirators in the political realm, kept a vigilant eye on their proceedings and, at the slightest sign of rebellion, treated them mercilessly. These executions terrified some, but turned others into fanatics. Tracked into their mountains, the Huguenots of the Cévennes were awaiting the coming of the prophet who would emancipate them. The exiles, whom the revocation of the Edict of Nantes had cast outside the frontiers, thenceforth formed natural connections between their persecuted brethren in France and foreign governments. The ancient regime would have no fiercer enemies than the Protestants of France.

In 1698 Cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, wrote in the King's name to all the bishops of France to request from them as promptly as possible a memoir on the means they judged proper for converting the Protestants or at least for keeping them faithful to their duty. These memoirs still exist. All acknowledged that the Protestants, even those converted, formed a sort of body united by their former belief, by the promises they had made; in short, by a spirit of cabal that prevailed in their secret consistories. The bishops were unanimous about the necessity of maintaining the unity of faith and worship in the kingdom, but they were not equally unanimous about the means to be employed to realize this unity. The bishops of the North asked for the use of mildness. The Archbishop of Reims said: "The most suitable means for bringing back the Protestants is to tolerate them and to labor at instructing them with gentleness and charity." Bossuet rose up indignantly against the penalty which consisted in the guilty being drawn on a hurdle. He wrote: "This custom causes more horror against the Catholics than the good effects it brings about for the re-

united." But the bishops of the South all asked that the evangelical means be accompanied with a certain use of the public power. "I recognize," wrote Fléchier, "as St. Augustine did in his day, that preaching, reasoning, conferences, and all the offices of charity scarcely promote their conversion if they are not sustained by fear of the laws and ordinances of the princes. . . . Fear alone would make men rebellious; but instruction alone would not move them enough."

The intendants of the provinces were consulted at the same time as the bishops. "Prompted especially by political considerations, the intendants were unanimous in calling for a severe repression of all the acts that would be of a nature to impair the public tranquillity or the laws of the state, insisting on heavy fines, life sentence to the galleys, and, in certain cases, the death penalty, against those who took part in the secret assemblies or who should attempt to leave the kingdom without authorization."

From 1700 to 1715 no special measure was decreed against the Protestants. The only procedure was a more or less attenuated application of the existing laws. Encouragement was given to a greater amount of sermons and an increase in the number of Catholic schools. Attempts were made to change the internal dispositions.¹⁰ Lastly, the illusion which had hastened the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was renewed. On March 8, 1715, Louis XIV, supposing that now France contained only Catholics, declared subject to the penalty of the relapsed all those who would henceforth live or die in the so-called Reformed Religion, "the mere fact of their living in the kingdom being more than sufficient proof that they had embraced the Catholic religion." This legal fiction persisted, at least in principle, in French legislation until 1787. On August 15 of the same year the Huguenots of the South replied to the royal declaration by holding their first "synod of the Desert."

¹⁰ Cf. Lavisce, *op. cit.*, VIII, Part I, 385.

After the death of Louis XIV (September 1, 1715) the government of the regent, Philip of Orléans, a prince fond of pleasures and rather indifferent to things religious, at first left the heresy in comparative tranquillity. The Protestants met together without hindrance. Their ministers visited their flocks, spread Protestant writings, raised funds, and issued certificates of marriage and baptism as in the past. Duclos in his *Mémoires* speaks of meetings held in Poitou, in Languedoc, and in Guyenne. He says that the anxiety of the government increased by the discovery of a large store of guns and bayonets near a place where the Protestants were assembled. On August 29, 1723, the General Assembly of the Clergy of France, in a remonstrance to King Louis XV, complained of the growing agitation of the new converts: "They hold assemblies, we are told; they perform marriages without observing the laws of the Church and of the state; . . . they declare openly that they belong to the so-called Reform, so that this sect increases day by day."

The government judged that this license must be repressed. By its declaration of May 14, 1724, Louis XV renewed and, on certain points, increased the severe penalties decreed by Louis XIV. But, says Picot, "the spirit that prompted this new law seems not to have been a spirit of persecution. Evidence of this fact is that the edict of 1724 was not observed. The parliaments and the intendants were equally averse to rigorous measures. The minister wished merely to inspire the non-Catholics with greater reserve." Cardinal de Fleury, who was in power from 1726 to 1743, inclined to peaceful measures. The Protestants took advantage of this attitude to develop. They again established schools and consistories, distributed books and catechisms, convoked assemblies, and little by little resumed the exercise of their worship. They went further: in August, 1744, they held a national synod. Deputies from all the provinces gathered near Sommières, on the confines of the

diocese of Uzès. Article X of the resolutions reads: "As there are several provinces where the exercises of religion are still held during the night, the synod . . . to show more and more the purity of our intentions, . . . charges the pastors and the elders to conform, so far as prudence allows, to the Churches that perform their exercises openly."¹¹ Before adjourning the assembly ordained a solemn fast for the preservation of the sacred person of His Majesty and the success of his armies.¹²

The Assembly of the Clergy in 1745 called the King's attention to the undertakings of the Protestants; but the minister, with whom the influence of Marquis d'Argenson, a friend of Voltaire, was preponderant, was favorable to them. La Beaumelle, in his letters, speaks of assemblies of 20,000 persons held in Dauphiné, Poitou, Vivarais, and Béarn, and of sixty temples erected in the single province of Saintonge. In short, from 1724 to 1756 there were only some local persecutions, provoked by movements of public opinion or by the initiative of intendants more zealous than the government.

But in certain places these repressions were extremely severe. In the years 1745-47 the Parliament of Grenoble condemned 300 persons to be flogged, to imprisonment, to degradation from the nobility, or even to death.¹³

Then it was that some of the Reformers addressed to Rousseau and Voltaire a request to plead their cause. Rousseau evaded, replying: "I feel how hard it is to see oneself incessantly at the mercy of a cruel people, without having even the consolation of hearing the word of God. But that same word is explicit on the duty of obeying the laws of the princes. . . . An indiscreet word on my part would but injure the cause which I would undertake to defend. You have done well to turn to M. Voltaire. Yet I doubt that any great zeal for this cause will

¹¹ G. de Félice, *Hist. des protestants en France*, p. 391.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Desdevises du Désert, *L'Eglise et l'Etat en France*, I, 228.

be found in him. . . . He is without the desire; I am without the power."

Rousseau was mistaken. Voltaire, with all the strength of his fervor took up the Protestant cause and made of the two trials of Calas and Sirven great events in the history of France and even in that of Europe.¹⁴

One evening (October 13, 1761) a young man, Antoine Calas, was found hanging from a doorway of his own house at Toulouse. Through the crowd that gathered in the street the word spread that the young man's family, which was Protestant, had slain him to prevent his becoming a Catholic. The chief magistrate of Toulouse, David de Beaudrigue, accepted the truth of this report. Without further investigation, he arrested the whole Calas family. The Parliament of Toulouse, to which the case was referred, condemned Jean Calas, the father, to the torture of the wheel. The sentence was executed on March 10, 1762. Voltaire, asked to intervene, hesitated for a long time. He was no more favorably inclined to the Protestants than to the Catholics. At first he made fun of "this Abraham who killed his son in order to satisfy his conscience." But soon, seeing that the case was a good one, he eagerly undertook an active campaign of rehabilitation in favor of Calas. He displayed his fervent activity with its amazing resources. Fiery pamphlets followed one another, stirring up public opinion. Soon on the streets and in the salons the Calas affair was the only thing talked about. On March 9, 1765, the Council of Requests overruled the decision of the Parliament of Toulouse and rehabilitated the memory of Jean Calas.

Before the termination of the case, another like it claimed attention. The affair occurred at Saint-Alby near Castres. On January 2, 1762, a young woman, Elizabeth Sirven, mentally deranged, threw herself into a well. General rumor accused her parents with having murdered her. Report had it that they

¹⁴ H. Carré in Lavis, *op. cit.*, VIII, Part II, 342.

persecuted her because she wished to become a Catholic. Sirven and his wife were able to flee in time and reached Geneva. Voltaire then took up their defense, as he had done for Calas, and obtained a reversal of the decree that condemned Sirven as a parricide to the torture of the wheel.

Voltaire triumphed. The affair of the chevalier de la Barre capped his success.

In 1765, on a bridge at Abbeville, a crucifix was mutilated by saber cuts at the hands of persons unknown. Suspicions turned on a young man, Jean François de la Barre, well known for his habits of debauchery and impiety. He was arrested along with four of his companions. The fact came to light that an assessor of the procurator of the King at Abbeville was the personal enemy of the Abbess of Villaucourt, aunt of the chevalier de la Barre. It is now established that this connection played a decisive part in the conduct of the trial. Voltaire himself saw that the whole trial was the effect of a provincial quarrel and of a family enmity. Nothing in the depositions of the witnesses or in the answers of the accused proved the guilt of the latter. The charge of outrages to the crucifix was then abandoned. But several persons, though acquitting the accused of the crime of sacrilege, charged him with having uttered impious words, of obscene speech, and of scandalous acts. On this score he was condemned to death and, in spite of the intervention of the Bishop of Amiens, who petitioned the King for a commutation of the sentence, he was executed at Abbeville on July 1, 1766. Voltaire, who had tried to save him, broke forth into cries of indignation against the condemnation.

The chevalier de la Barre was not a Huguenot. But the Protestants defended his cause out of sympathy for his defender, out of hatred of his judges, and out of love for liberty of conscience to which he was considered a martyr. In the ensuing campaign against the traditional institutions of the Church and the state, Huguenots and philosophers were hence-

forth joined together. Moreover, they found, for the success of this campaign, a precious auxiliary in a party which, apparently starting out from an altogether different basis, assumed more and more revolutionary attitudes. It was Jansenism.

Jansenism in the Eighteenth Century

With Quesnel's *Réflexions morales*, and especially with the *Problème ecclésiastique*, a violent and anonymous pamphlet which in 1699 presented Louis Antoine de Noailles, bishop of Châlons, in opposition to Louis Antoine de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, a new Jansenism was born, radical and factious. Never was Jansenism more akin to Protestantism in its doctrines; never was it closer to it in its attitude and methods. The publication (1702) of a new pamphlet, entitled *Cas de conscience*, rudely awakened all the controversies raised since the very beginning of the sect. A certain penitent in theory condemned the five propositions, but kept a "respectful silence" with regard to the question of fact, believed in the efficacy of grace *in se* and in the necessity of a beginning of love in contrition, thought that acts performed without love are sins, read the *Letters* of St. Cyran, Arnauld's *Fréquent communion* and the *Mons Bible*. Could such a one receive absolution? Forty doctors of the Sorbonne answered: Yes. Pope Clement XI, by a brief of February 12, 1703, condemned the *Cas de conscience* in severe terms and pointed out to the Faculty of Theology of Paris the temerity of some of its doctors. Fénelon, in an eloquent pastoral letter,¹⁵ refuted the doctrine of the *Cas de conscience*, showing the absurdity and the absence of good faith in the "respectful silence." This vigorous protest was the starting point of a movement of opinion which found expression in the letters of several bishops.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

Louis XIV then feared seeing the Jansenist faction raise its head again. He was informed that the Jansenists were not well disposed toward his person and for his state. He had a fear of this kind of independents who were said to be ill disposed to the royal authority no less than they were refractory to that of the pope: a republican party in the Church and in the state. Louis XIV asked the Supreme Pontiff to send, for the unmasking of the last subtleties of the Jansenists, a precise and energetic bull which, registered by the parliaments, would become the law of the realm and would be executed by the magistrates of the kingdom. Thus was provoked the bull *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*, which appeared July 15, 1705. The Pope condemned the "respectful silence" as "a deceitful veil to be used in making a mockery of the Church instead of obeying her."¹⁶ Recalling all the condemnations by his predecessors, he required that the Church be obeyed by an internal submission, *non tacendo solum, sed et interius obsequendo*.¹⁷

Nothing equaled the clearness and precision of this act of supreme authority unless it was the accord with which it was received.¹⁸ We cannot easily find a more remarkable example of agreement between the two powers, spiritual and civil. The Assembly of the Clergy received it with perfect submission; the Parliament registered it without objection; all the bishops except one (the Bishop of Saint-Pons) published it without reservation. The cause of Jansenism seemed to be lost.

A single difficulty remained to be overcome: to obtain the submission of the nuns of Port Royal des Champs, the last official remaining group of Jansenism. To smooth out the obstacles, to assuage sensibilities, it was decided to address the nuns' confessor, Father Marignier. This priest received

¹⁶ Clement XI, *Bullarium*, p. 148.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; Denzinger, no. 1350.

¹⁸ Gaillardin, *Hist. du règne de Louis XIV*, IV, 623.

(March 18, 1706) notice of the bull *Vineam*, of the episcopal ordinance publishing it in the diocese, and of the formula which he was asked to sign, namely: "The above-mentioned bull and ordinance have been read and published at the grille of Port Royal by us, the undersigned priest, in charge of the guidance of the nuns, and was received with the respect due to His Holiness and to His Eminence by the nuns."

The situation was decisive. An act of filial obedience, performed in all sincerity and simplicity, would have marked the end of the whole dispute. The nuns of Port Royal asked for time to reflect, and they consulted their friends.

But, although the calm was restored in France, the agitation was extreme in Holland. Quesnel, in refuge, stirred up men's minds there. Violent outbursts, directed against the bull, reached Paris. The spirit of revolt and the spirit of peace would engage in keen strife in the soul of the Jansenists consulted. Finally, the spirit of revolt won the day. To make an example of some of the nuns might have been a clever tactical move. It is true that the authorities did not require of them an explicit and personal act of submission; the nuns decided to make an explicit act of revolt. They loudly protested that they would accept the bull only with the addition of the following formula: "Without derogating from what had been done regarding them, for the peace of the Church, under Pope Clement IX." By requiring this singular and ridiculous formula,¹⁹ they placed the ecclesiastical and civil authorities in the necessity of retreating before women or of proceeding against them with severity. To do one or the other was to run the risk of turning public opinion in favor of a cause for which the nuns would be either victors or martyrs.

The future showed the correctness of these calculations. The shifty and impressionable character of Cardinal de Noailles led him to fall into the trap. Louis XIV's exasperation, then at

¹⁹ Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, VI, 184.

its height, prompted him to adopt extreme repressions. By this strategy the Jansenists lost Port Royal, but they recovered a popularity.

Port Royal

Men's minds became inflamed. "Must we give up our consciences?" the nuns demanded. One of the oldest of them said: "The mere thought that I shall suffer for the truth fills me with joy." Quesnel, from his retreat in the Netherlands, wrote to these future martyrs to sustain their courage. But events were soon precipitated. Under Noailles' influence, Louis XIV forbade the nuns of Port Royal des Champs to elect an abbess or to receive any novices; the diocesan authorities stripped them of their goods, joining these to the property of Port Royal of Paris.²⁰ The nuns protested. In November, 1707, Noailles pronounced excommunication against them. The protests were redoubled. Apparently the party wished to force the Archbishop and the King to go to the last extremities. Noailles turned to the Pope who, in a desire to promote peace, proposed a compromise: the property of Port Royal des Champs should be joined to that of Port Royal of Paris, as the King and the Archbishop demanded; but the refractory nuns might remain in peace at Port Royal des Champs until their death. This measure, which did not satisfy the King, was likewise not satisfactory to the Jansenists. In March, 1709, the Pope decided to publish a bull authorizing the transfer of the nuns of Port Royal des Champs to various convents.

In the execution of this order by the royal agents reasonable moderation was not observed. On October 29, 1709, D'Argenson presented himself at the grille with an escort of archers, ready to assist him with force. And carriages were on hand to transport the recalcitrant nuns. The grille was forced; the com-

²⁰ The nuns of Port Royal of Paris no longer professed Jansenism and had broken off all relation with Port Royal des Champs.

munity was at once assembled in the chapter room; each of the nuns received the *lettre de cachet* assigning her to her future residence. Then followed a touching scene. When D'Argenson saw these women kneel before their superior to receive a last blessing, promising to meet again in eternity; when he had to aid the most aged and the infirm to leave, even having some of them carried in litters, he could not restrain his feelings; he asked pardon of the nuns for the mission that he was obliged to perform. Some people of the neighborhood, friends of the convent, ran up and gathered about the archers, crying out for their benefactors, their "mothers." The feeling soon reached the general public. A month later, Fénelon, so opposed to Jansenism, could not help writing to the Duke de Chevreuse: "Such a blow of authority can but arouse compassion for these women and indignation against their persecutors."²¹

During the days following the dispersion, pilgrimages came to the deserted convent one after another. The relatives of those whose bodies rested in the chapel, petitioned the King for the removal of these remains. The Marquis de Pomponne, grandson of Arnauld, implored the King to permit him to transport to his domain the bodies of his relatives buried at Port Royal. A rumor spread that Louis XIV thought of destroying the convent chapel. But the very report of the steps taken by the Jansenists seems to have urged the King to hasten the execution of this project. A decree of the Council (January 22, 1710) ordered the demolition of the buildings of Port Royal.

The order was carried out promptly. The venerable monastery was razed, as also all the buildings that had been successively added to it. The materials were sold, and attempts were made to wipe out even the traces of the constructions. But the bare soil remained a sacred relic; it contained the remains of Le Maître, Arnauld, Racine, and many illustrious persons whose memory is still recalled by the misfortunes of Port

²¹ Fénelon, *Œuvres*, III, 815.

Royal. In 1711 the tombs were opened, and the bodies were exhumed, the bodies of those who had wished to be eternally reunited, and they were dispersed in the churches of Paris and in the cemeteries of the neighboring villages.

As we may see from the bitterness of these complaints, Louis XIV's stroke of authority was not a solution. On the contrary. It was precisely after the ruin of Port Royal that we see the Jansenists closing their ranks and forming themselves in Paris like a little city apart. St. Jacques du Haut-Pas received the body of St. Cyran and the heart of Madame de Longueville; St. Etienne du Mont received the mortal remains of the great Pascal, Boileau, Racine, Le Maître, and de Sacy; Nicole slept beneath the vault of St. Médard. The triangle formed by these three churches is where they lived by preference.

Archbishop de Noailles

From this center, Jansenism radiated. It had already penetrated the seminaries. All those studying at the Sorbonne, except the seminarians of St. Sulpice and a small number of others, entered into the spirit of Jansen. The imprudences and the unreflecting acts of Archbishop de Noailles of Paris did but accelerate this movement. In contrast to this predecessor, François de Harlay, whose moral conduct was subject to criticism and whose government was wise and prudent, Archbishop de Noailles, a sincerely pious prelate, endowed with estimable qualities, gave the example of deplorable inconstancy. His great misfortune was that he listened too readily to false friends and listened too much to himself. Since the death of Bossuet,²² who had been his beneficent moderator, Noailles, abandoned to his own will, too often gives the spectacle of a character without consistency or firmness. We need not here relate the story of his strifes with Louis XIV and with the

²² Bossuet died in 1704.

Society of Jesus, or give a full recital of his shifty actions with regard to the *Réflexions morales* of Quesnel. In 1711, by a series of unbelievable abuses of authority, he condemned a pastoral letter of the bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle against Quesnel's book, ordered the superior of the seminary of St. Sulpice to expel two nephews of those prelates. Suspecting the Jesuits of being in connivance with his enemies, he withdrew from most of them the faculties for hearing confessions. When called upon to condemn the *Réflexions morales*, he hesitated endlessly; this he did to such an extent that Louis XIV, having become impatient, revoked the privilege accorded for this work and ordered that all copies of it be seized. Nothing less than a direct and explicit intervention of the Pope could put an end to so many conflicts. This was the origin of the bull *Unigenitus*.

This bull, which would stir up long and fiery discussions throughout the course of the eighteenth century, was published on September 8, 1713. It condemned 101 propositions of Quesnel. The Assembly of the Clergy of France received it with submission and respect; the King ordered its execution by letters patent; the Parliament, after expressing some reservations on the liberties of the Gallican Church, registered it, and Cardinal de Noailles revoked the approbation he had given to the book of the *Réflexion morales*.

The Jansenists experienced a moment of stupefaction. But the death of Louis XIV (September 1, 1715) and the coming of the regent, Philip of Orléans, whose religious indifference was well known, revived their courage. Then they began a desperate resistance. We have not here occasion to follow in all its details this campaign of intrigues, disputes, the secret and open maneuvers, in which no great theological problem was involved, in which no great man appeared. The Jansenism of the seventeenth century is no longer to be recognized in this emaciated and dried-up Jansenism, like the branch of a river

turned aside into the sand and lost in stony ground. Even less is it to be found in that political Jansenism, which will enable many people to belong to it without being party to the dogma or even to religion at all.²³

In 1717 four bishops (Soanen of Senez, Colbert of Montpellier, De la Broue of Mirepoix, and De Langle of Boulogne) appealed from the bull to the future general council. Out of 130 bishops, 16 gave their adherence to this appeal; 87 doctors voted for the erasure of the bull from the registers of the Faculty; several religious and secular priests, Oratorians, Canons of St. Genevieve, Benedictines of St. Maur, curés of Paris, altogether 3,000 ecclesiastics out of 100,000, followed the movement. The "appellants," as they were called, remained a very small minority, but a turbulent and obstinate minority which, by its endless discussion about the authenticity of the bull, by its ceaseless recourse to the parliaments of France and to foreign allies, by its continuous stream of publications, by the so-called miracles and the "convulsions" of its disciples, would stir up public opinion, disturb the state, and afflict the Church.

In 1718, Clement XI, by his bull *Pastoralis officii*, separates the "appellants" from the Church. They appeal against this new bull. Then the Regent, and especially his former tutor, now become his prime minister, the famous Dubois, start to open their eyes upon the import of these maneuvers. A more serious vigilance is inaugurated under the ministry of the old Cardinal de Fleury, who, in 1727, authorizes De Tencin, then archbishop of Embrun, to hold a provincial council. Bishop Soanen of Senez is there declared suspended from his office and, on his new appeal to the future council, he is exiled by *lettre de cachet* to the abbey of Chaise-Dieu.²⁴ The Jansenist party breaks up. Noailles declares his acceptance of the constitution *Unigenitus* and, by this act of submission (1729), terminates

²³ Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, VI, 242.

²⁴ He died there thirteen years later, in 1740, at the age of ninety-three.

his life of perpetual vacillation. On December 15, 700 doctors of the Faculty of Paris, 39 of them bishops, ratify the acceptance of the bull.²⁵ The only ones thenceforth left are Colbert, bishop of Montpellier, Caylus of Auxerre, and Bossuet of Troyes, unworthy nephew of the great bishop.

In desperation the sectarians seek everywhere for support. In 1728, twelve doctors of the Sorbonne commission a certain Jubé, curé of Asnières, to negotiate an understanding with the Russian Church on the basis of the Gallican principles. The doctrines of the Anglican Church do not alarm them, and Doctor Ellies Dupin enters into parleys with Archbishop Wake of Canterbury to negotiate a union based on the abolition of the vows of religion, of auricular confession, and of clerical celibacy.²⁶ These attempts prove fruitless. But the party finds an effective support in the Parliament of Paris, where independence toward the pope is an old tradition. In 1732, when the new archbishop of Paris, Gaspard de Vintimille, issues a decree ordering obedience to the bull, the Parliament declares that this is an abuse of authority. Four councillors, the most violent, are then condemned to exile. The Parliament protests: all the magistrates, except those of the Grand' Chambre, sign their resignation. On June 20 they leave the palace two by two to the number of 150, in the midst of a crowd that cries out: "Behold the true Romans and the fathers of the country!"

To spread their ideas the Jansenists, since 1727, have a secret paper, the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*, which, in spite of the police, continues to be published in France until 1794, in Holland until 1805.²⁷ They also have the famous *boîte à Perrette*, so called, it was said, from the name of Nicole's governess, who contributed the first funds to it; a mysterious war chest which,

²⁵ Laftau, *Hist. de la Constitution Unigenitus*, pp. 507-9.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Bk. V, p. 413.

²⁷ Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, III, 130.

from 40,000 francs at the death of Nicole, increased to more than a million.

But did not God Himself seem to favor the spread of the Jansenist ideas and to approve the "appellants"? Strange scenes took place in the cemetery of St. Médard. A deacon, named Pâris, was buried there in 1727. He had been a fervent disciple of Port Royal. It was said that out of humility he was never willing to be raised to the priesthood; he even remained two years without receiving Communion. All during his life he shared with the poor his income of 10,000 francs a year, and he died in a poor wooden hovel in the Faubourg St. Marceau. The word spread that sick persons, when they lay on his grave, recovered their health. People thronged the spot. Cures were soon accompanied with remarkable scenes. Men and women fell down there in convulsion, epileptics foamed at the mouth. Besides, there were "helps" given by the "brethren" to their convulsed "sisters." Young boys, called "helpers," struck their victims with their fists, with sticks, on the head, on the stomach. Their flesh was tortured, they were crucified. And they pretended that they felt an indescribable delight. On September 29, 1732, the police closed the cemetery. The abominable scenes went on in secret, at the homes of the initiated, in barns or cellars. Thus they continued until the end of the century.

The resurgence of the Gallican errors in Germany under the name of Febronianism and Josephism later aggravate the difficulties of the Church.

Gallicanism

Gallicanism had been enthusiastically embraced by public opinion, as much abroad as in France. However, until the middle of the eighteenth century the Gallican theories seemed confined to the countries governed by the princes of the house of

Bourbon. Spain by restraining the jurisdiction of the pope and of the episcopate, by the concordats of 1737 and 1743, and by making the Inquisition more and more a power of the state; Genoa and Savoy by profiting from various pretexts to recall their ambassadors from Rome; Naples by proclaiming the direct divine origin of the power of kings; Parma by refusing to pay its tribute to the Holy See; Venice by stirring up endless quarrels with the Holy See, prefacing the conspiracy of the Latin courts which would result in the expulsion of the Jesuits. The works of the Frenchman Ellies du Pin and the Fleming Van Espen, who maintained the pretended divine origin of the power of kings in opposition to the so-called ecclesiastical origin of the power of the popes, was spread with the favor of the absolute monarchs.²⁸

Febronianism

In the middle of the eighteenth century this theory entered Germany through the publication (1743) of a work entitled, *De praesenti statu Ecclesiae deque legitima potestate romani Pontificis*. The author, who concealed his identity under the pseudonym of Justinus Febronius, was merely repeating the doctrines of Ellies du Pin and Van Espen. Christ, he said, transmitted His authority to the mass of the faithful, in whom it rests *radicaliter et principaliter*. The bishops have the use and usufruct of this authority. Moreover, they hold this power from God Himself without intermediary. The pope has no pre-eminence over them except that of a metropolitan over his suffragans. He may command each individual bishop; but the bishops as a body are above him. It is true that in the course of time the Roman pontiffs, either by the concession of the bishops or by extortion, obtained all sorts of rights. But the time has come to strip them of these and to lead the Church

²⁸ Ranke, *Lives and Times of the Popes*, II, 450.

back to its primitive constitution. If the popes refuse to lend themselves to this reform, the Catholic princes have the duty to force them to do so.

Febronius' book produced an enormous stir. The German mentality has a double tendency: its minute precision is unsurpassed when it engages in the analysis of a text; but, if it engages in the consideration of an idea of a vast synthesis, there is no telling how far its daring will take it. The German canonists, conscientiously supplied with the tools of a traditional science, with great fidelity interpreted the text of the Decretals, without seeing therein the germ or the fruit of a historic evolution.²⁹ Febronius' new conception completely altered their point of view. For it pointed to the origins of the Roman constitution of the Church as something to be found in the contingent facts of history; this it set up in opposition to primitive Christianity; and it showed its destruction in the Christianity of the future. German science became enamored with a moving canon law, whose final term would realize all the anti-Roman claims of Germany in the course of several centuries. It seemed, indeed, that the old historical grievances of the nation against the financial procedures of the Holy See became vocal and found an echo. Between the ambition of the prince-bishops and the young school of the canonists the alliance was quite natural. From the entourage of an ecclesiastical elector, that of Trier, it was that the most illustrious theorist of the new law came forth, at first masked, and then openly.³⁰

He who had signed his manifesto with the mysterious name of Febronius was Nicholas von Hontheim, coadjutor of the Bishop of Trier. He also held the office of councillor of the prince-electors George von Schönborn. He was well known for his learning. He had published studies, drawn from the best sources, regarding the antiquities of the Trier country. In him

²⁹ Goyau, *L'Allemagne religieuse, le catholicisme*, I, 8.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

were combined the rancor of the feudal vassal and the utopias of the canonist.

The aim of Hontheim's work was of a nature to give it a celebrity in the Protestant world. Regarding himself as Bossuet's successor, he said that he foresaw, after the ruin of the Roman centralization, a vast expansion of religious unity. A certain Febronian Jesuit declared: "Let Febronius' reform be carried out, and all Germany will become Catholic."³¹ Surely this was making little of the grave dogmatic differences that separated the teaching of Luther from that of Rome.

In fact, the traditional Protestantism fought the Febronian doctrines as well as Roman orthodoxy. Lessing and Johann von Müller repudiated them outspokenly. Clement XIII, Clement XIV, and Pius VI condemned them.³² But the terrible work, favored more or less openly by the governments, made the round of Europe. In France two translations of it were published in rapid succession; at Venice it was re-edited under the patronage of the Senate; the Council of Castile met the expenses of a special edition; in Portugal it was distributed gratis and in great numbers. Within a year seven hundred copies were sold at Vienna. Choiseul wrote: "If Febronius' book has been able to spread the doctrine of the Gallican Church in the other countries, it is an eternal obligation which those prelates will owe to the Elector of Trier." But it was in the German Empire that Febronianism bore its full fruits.

We cannot deny that Empress Maria Theresa, who presided over the destinies of the Empire since 1740, possessed the highest qualities of a sovereign: courage, activity, intelligence, irreproachable virtue. The valiant heroine who, when threatened by all Europe, had faced Europe and had aroused, for the defense of the country, her people of Hungary by raising her young son in her arms, deserves the name of "Mother of our

³¹ Quoted by Goyau, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

³² Clement XIII in 1764; Clement XIV in 1769; Pius VI in 1775.

Country," which was given her by the gratitude of her subjects. The faithful wife, the generous and compassionate Christian, in many respects was worthy of the title of "Catholic Majesty," which the Sovereign Pontiff bestowed on her. But the excessive favor she accorded to the disciples of Febronius casts a shadow on her great reign. Maria Theresa had conceived the praiseworthy project of regulating the legal condition of Church property, of establishing a civil statute regarding the religious, and of favoring the progress of clerical studies. Unfortunately, for the carrying out of these reforms she turned to men imbued with the new ideas. Her two chief collaborators were the Benedictine Raustenstrauch, abbot of Braunau, and her Dutch physician, Van Swieten. The former was a disciple of Febronius; the latter maintained continual relations with the Jansenists of Holland and the philosophers of Berlin. Under their influence the property of the Church was made subject to the administration of the state, and the conditions of religious profession were regulated by imperial decrees.

No doubt, the considerable improvement of clerical studies was owing to the Abbot of Braunau. Thanks to him the study of patrology and of pastoral theology became more familiar to the Austrian clergy. But his aversion to Scholasticism and in particular his efforts to withdraw the education in the seminaries from the direction of the bishops and to place the seminaries under the direction of the state, had deplorable consequences and prepared the way for the baneful religious policy of Emperor Joseph II.

Joseph was not devoid of genuine qualities. His sincere though bungling intention to procure the good of his subjects, and his frank claim to reform the Church of Austria by himself, seem undeniable. But his upbringing had furnished him with false ideas which he was unable to shake off, in which, on the contrary, he persisted to the very end. The Jesuit Frantz, half-Cartesian, half-Scholastic, had filled Joseph's mind with

vague abstractions;⁸³ an anti-Christian professor, Martini, had taught him natural law according to even more dangerous principles; and, after the completion of his studies, an active influence of Freemasons and visionaries had circumvented the young prince.⁸⁴ When he came to power, he pushed Febronianism to its most extreme consequences. His system has been given a special name: Josephism.

Josephism

The parent idea of his doctrine is this principle: that the care for harmonizing the Church with the age belongs exclusively to the state. The state is the one charged with regulating, modifying, and at need limiting the methods of the Church's activity. The doctrine of Febronius was surpassed. For the author of the *De statu praesenti Ecclesiae*, the episcopate at any rate remained standing and had its word to say about discipline and dogma. But the emperor-theologian desired only a silent and obsequious episcopate. Febronianism wished to promote among the faithful a powerful and autonomous Christian life; Josephism allowed no place for the contemplative life or for asceticism.⁸⁵ For the regulation of public worship, the order of ceremonies, and the number of Masses to be said in the churches and chapels, the Emperor himself would care for that. Frederick II called the Emperor of Austria "my brother the sacristan."

We must say that these regulations were generally suppressions and confiscations. Joseph II had the jewels taken from the statues of the saints, he sold to Jews the treasures, reliquaries, and sacred vessels, closed 624 monasteries, and forbade pilgrimages, instituted civil marriage and divorce. His

⁸³ Wehofer, O.P., *Das Lehrbuch der Metaphysik für Kaiser Joseph II*, pp. 112-20.

⁸⁴ Goyau, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁸⁵ See the references given by Goyau, p. 45.

so-called purified Christianity had a similarity to the deism of the philosophers. Voltaire was now right: The Holy Roman Germanic Empire was no longer either holy or Roman. At bottom, Emperor Joseph II was a revolutionary. As Hontheim, to draw the throng of the dissidents into the Catholic edifice, had dislocated that edifice at its base, so Joseph II, to improve religion and again bring it into favor, overthrew it completely. He acted with the religious society as others soon would act with the civil society.³⁶ In pushing Gallicanism to its utmost limits, Josephism prepared for the French Revolution.

Christopher de Beaumont

For that same Revolution in its last phase the Jansenist party also labored, and a certain historian has said that the followers of St. Cyran and Quesnel, by taking a factious attitude in the seventeenth century, laid down the generative principle of 1789.

Indeed the strife had become more and more acute between the Parliament and the clergy at the time of the affair of the so-called *billets de confession*, or "the refusal of the sacraments."

Christopher de Beaumont, raised to the see of Paris in 1748,³⁷ had from the outset of his episcopate ordered his priests to require from every sick person who asked for Viaticum or extreme unction a note stating that he had been assisted by an approved priest. This provision was in conformity with an old tradition in the Church and was especially sanctioned by one of the councils held at Milan between 1565 and 1582 under St. Charles Borromeo. But in 1752 the Oratorian Lemère, being unwilling to furnish the required note, was refused the sacraments by the curé of St. Etienne du Mont in spite of an order from the Parliament. Thereupon a decree was issued (April

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁷ He had been bishop of Bayeux 1744-45, archbishop of Vienne 1745-48.

28), which forbade all ecclesiastics to do any acts tending to schism, especially any refusal of the sacraments under pretext of the lack of *billets de confession* or of a refusal to accept the bull *Unigenitus*, under penalty of being prosecuted as disturbers of the public peace and punished according to the rigor of the ordinances. This decree opened the way to grave conflicts.

Christopher de Beaumont, born July 26, 1703, was one of the most majestic figures of Catholic France in the eighteenth century. Of this vigorous champion of the rights of the Church, it has been said that never did a greater prelate occupy the see of St. Denis, of Goslin, and of Sully. Never, at least, in the course of so long an episcopate (1741-81) did any prelate see himself confronted with more complex difficulties, contrived by the most determined adversaries. But likewise never did a prelate accept the strife more generously and carry it on more fearlessly and persist more obstinately or with more success.

King Louis XV tried to resist the Parliament. He proclaimed the nullity of the decree of April, 1752, and of a second decree which confiscated the goods of the curé of St. Etienne du Mont. But in the face of this juridical body that had but lately been appealed to to set aside the last will of Louis XIV, the monarch was henceforth powerless. Finally the King yielded, forbade the refusal of the sacraments, and in 1754 exiled De Beaumont to Conflans. On October 16, 1756, Pope Benedict XIV in a spirit of peace, while maintaining the ordinances of the Archbishop, moderated them and declared that they no longer applied except to such as should be publicly refractory to the bull *Unigenitus*. But the Parliament was adamant and, by a decree of December 7, suppressed the papal brief as assailing the laws and maxims of the kingdom. At last, in 1765, the Assembly of the Clergy drew up an "Exposition on the rights of the spiritual power," in which it proclaimed the bull *Unigenitus* to be a dogmatic judgment of the universal Church. But the Parliament annulled the acts of the Assembly. Thus by way of a narrow

policy of chicanery, the Jansenist party of France marched openly into schism.

In the Netherlands the final step had just been taken. The Oratorian Peter Codde, who went there as vicar apostolic in 1688, favored the spread of the party. His refusal to sign the formulary caused him to be finally suspended from office in 1704. The presence of Quesnel in Holland stirred up men's minds. In 1723 a pseudo-chapter, meeting at The Hague, elected as archbishop of Utrecht Cornelius Steenhoven, who was excommunicated by the Pope. But instead of submitting, he consecrated two suffragan bishops. The schism was consummated.

In Holland as in France thus ended, in wretched quarrels and in open revolt, the great movement from which St. Cyran, Arnould, Nicole, and Quesnel expected the renewal of the Church, the restoration of the pure Christian spirit.

Descartes

Such events were sure to favor the progress of unbelief which, ever since the Renaissance, was spreading in the various nations of Europe, especially in France. At the same time two other causes contributed to this development: the philosophical movement and the laxity of morals.

To shake off the yoke of theology and to be free from Aristotle: such was the double watchword of Descartes and his disciples. In reality the Cartesian philosophy was too much separated from religion and from tradition. In short, it was too isolated from life. Yet that philosophy was accepted by the strongest minds of the great century. By its fundamental theory of clear and distinct ideas and by its universal mechanism, it satisfied minds that were attracted especially by order and clearness. By its learned method and its high regard for individual reason, it favored independence. By its new demonstrations of

the immortality of the soul and of the existence of God, it founded, alongside Christianity, respectfully left to the domain of faith, a sort of natural religion, simple and noble, but dry and abstract. Gradually it became evident that its basis was narrow and its constitution not very solid. Some persons attacked it in the name of religion, which it contracted, others in the name of personal and social experience, which it despised.

Locke

The realist positivism of Locke and Condillac appeared as a reaction against the idealist intellectualism of Descartes. From this twofold movement was born Voltaire, a true child of Locke in his sensualist positivism, and of Descartes in his "delusive clearness."

Voltaire is the demolisher, Rousseau the deist builder. Belief in the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, proved by reason, and faith in the sufficiency of nature: such is the basis of the *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard*, the starting point of the *Contrat social*. At the same time, a breath of Calvinist enthusiasm passed through the dream of this sick man, who was depraved by the moral laxity of his age.

The society of the eighteenth century, which perceived itself in these two men and in their disciples, welcomed them heartily, and feasted them with delight. The reaction against the depressing dogmas and morality of the old Jansenism finds expression in their works with an enthusiasm that charmed their contemporaries. The naturalist optimism of the Renaissance seemed to be justified by reason: it reached out easily to the court and to the city. A property of exaggerated doctrines is to aggravate, by the shock which its rebound produces, the very evils which they pretend to cure.

The fashionable salons opened their doors to the "philosophers." This is the name which these so-called thinkers

bestowed on themselves. With vague phrases taken from the naturalism of the Renaissance and from the dubious remnants of all the philosophies and religions of the past or from the arbitrary rejection of traditional views, they assumed a right to be regarded as above criticism, to utter a priori conclusions, to hold that the ideal view of things determines reality.³⁸ At the house of Madame Tencin the "philosophers" guided the representatives of the highest nobility, of the gravest magistrates, of the Church itself. All institutions and all beliefs were there subjected to criticism. They believed in progress and were earnest that this progress should be a fact. All authorities that still wished to subdue men's minds or that opposed the growth of well-being were despised. The same philosophy decided on a question of sewers and on the existence of God.³⁹

The Encyclopedia

This philosophy was propagated by every kind of literary means: letters, novels, poetry, dissertations, history, dramas, pamphlets, stories, and especially by that immense publication which, for more than half a century, so profoundly moved public opinion in France and in other countries: *The Encyclopedia*. This work was a sort of *Summa* of rationalist philosophy; it condensed and popularized; it supplied to the people and to the bourgeoisie what its authors had spread profusely in the salons: opinions, solutions, plans, hopes, and dreams for every matter of thought and of human activity. Henceforth the ancient regime appeared to be an institution condemned to perish.

Undoubtedly the ruin of the old society had other profound causes. It was not the philosophers who, under Richelieu and under Louis XIV excessively centralized the absolute power,

³⁸ Lanson, *Hist. de la littér., française*, p. 619.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

drew to the court the nobility of the provinces, unfairly assessed taxes and improperly regulated their collection. The philosophers were not the ones who passed on the power of Louis the Great to the voluptuous Louis XV and who, under this latter, let the power fall into the hands of a Pompadour and a Du Barry, deplorable personages.⁴⁰ The philosophers did not drain the public treasury or bring on famine and severe cold or crush the people with excessive burdens. But, after enlisting the help of all kinds of literary production, they enlisted all classes of the nation. They were unable to obtain the King's support; at least they obtained his neutrality. From Madame Pompadour they sought aid and protection, and they succeeded in having her for a powerful ally. Among the great ones they were able to make some their valuable disciples; they won some, others they disarmed before the people. The parliamentarians supplied them with helpers of the first order; the men of finance gave them the backing of a new power; in most of the salons they were established as masters, and from there they were able to radiate over the polite society of France and of other countries. They won the bourgeoisie, which became transformed under their influence. Lastly, they conquered the popular masses, whom they drew to themselves thanks to generous claims set forth in a simple and striking form.

From Paris, from France, the philosophy of the eighteenth century soon extended to all Europe. Paris attracted foreigners who wished to live its life, to be admitted to those salons which all Europe talked about, which impressed them by its dazzling splendor. Paris feted them magnificently; a broad cosmopolitanism opened doors and hearts. Count de Creutz, ambassador of Sweden, Marquis de Caraccioli, ambassador of Naples, Prince de Ligne, Stedingk, Fersen, all these were French in taste, tongue, and mind. Those who could not come, France

⁴⁰ Chateaubriand, *Œuvres*, (1833), XVII, 455.

sought out by written or printed correspondence.⁴¹ In Germany, Lessing depends on Bayle, Voltaire, and Diderot; Schiller and Kant owed much to Rousseau. In Italy, Goldoni imitated Molière; Alfieri, Voltaire; and Condillac taught the Prince of Parma. Through Naples relations were readily established with Spain. More than anywhere else, these relations were very close in England, which furnished the philosophers, if not with their principles, at least with examples, verifications, and the initial impulse.⁴²

Freemasonry

From the outset of the eighteenth century a powerful association remarkably favored the concentration of the anti-Catholic forces: it was Freemasonry.

As an occupational corporative institution, freemasonry undeniably goes back to remote antiquity.

In the period when more men were leaving the nomad life, the art of building soon acquired a preponderant importance in society. It required technical knowledge which, before the progress of the exact sciences, had to be empirical. This knowledge was secretly transmitted to the initiated. Thus the builders soon formed a mysterious aristocracy, organized with a hierarchy, as required by the very nature of the various labors of their art. We may suppose that, along with the secrets of their trade, the stone masons at an early date transmitted from one to another certain religious beliefs adapted to their point of view. The nomad tribes regarded the heavens and conceived religion under the form of a siderial mythology; the masons regarded the earth and imagined it under the form of an ideal work, continually being constructed, repaired, and brought to its perfection by a Great Architect.

⁴¹ Lanson, p. 811.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 809.

The history of these associations of builders in antiquity is purely legendary. But, following the barbarian invasions, when the peoples of the West became definitely fixed on the soil in stable groups, corporations of masons began to spread through Europe, erecting cathedrals, palaces, highways, and canals. Nicholas III in 1277 and Benedict XII in 1334 confirmed certain privileges of jurisdiction in their favor and certain exemptions from taxes, in consideration of their public services: hence their name of freed masons, or freemasons.⁴³

Such an institution, when time or favorable circumstances would permit, seemed likely to play a considerable political role.

It did fill this political role especially in England and Scotland, where, at the close of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth, it succeeded in putting itself under the protection of influential personages. We may consider as certain that William III (of Orange) was initiated into this association about 1694, or more correctly, that at that period certain lodges of English masons put themselves under his protection and that in this capacity he several times presided over their meetings at Hampton Court. In the strife between the Stuarts and Parliament, and later between the Stuarts and the house of Orange or of Hanover, the political parties grouped the corporations about them. The Stuarts, from James I to Charles III, even copied the masonic organization for introduction into the regiments. In 1689 the Scotch and Irish regiments disembarked in France with their masonic orders. In time there was introduced into corporative freemasonry a philosophical element which later on would cement the fusion of the Jacobite lodges with the Orange lodges on the terrain of egalitarianism.⁴⁴

In 1646 the freemasons of Longer noticed in the meeting hall a group of men strangers to their trade, men who were called

⁴³ Gustave Bord, *La Franc-Maçonnerie en France*, I, 45.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-51.

the Brethren of the Rosy Cross. Just what were they? No one can say precisely. They formed a secret society for the purpose of seeking for the transmutation of metals, the art of prolonging life, and certain occult practices which have not yet been brought to light. Descartes in vain tried to enter into relation with them.⁴⁵ At any rate we know the philosophical theories of him who, in 1617, became the apologist of the society, Robert Fludd. At first a soldier, then a physician and theosophist, in his *Apologia* ⁴⁶ of the Rosy Cross, he gave an interpretation of the Christian revelation which leads to pantheism, inclining rather toward matter than toward spirit.⁴⁷ Decidedly masonry was abandoning its concern with material building and taking up the thought of the construction of an ideal society. Says a Masonic writer: "The mason-philosophers were presently strong enough to operate the much desired transformation." Among these so-called philosophers, some have mentioned Chancellor Bacon, to whom a dominant role has been attributed.⁴⁸ Bayle, Swedenborg, Willermoz, and Saint-Martin, the celebrated "unknown philosopher," that original figure of Christian theosophist, apart from all the systems, decidedly revolutionary, but deeply disinterested, romantic and mystical, who later seduced Joseph de Maistre.

Historians generally fix the date of 1717 as that of the birth of speculative or philosophical Freemasonry. A regulation of this period shows that it then comprised master, companions, and apprentices; that an initiation had to be undergone for admission, and that secrecy had to be kept about the doings of the lodges.⁴⁹ As for the philosophy which had become the very soul of the society, if we are to believe Findel, it was the religious feeling, but of such sort that its essence consisted in

⁴⁵ Doumic, *Le secret de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, p. 56.

⁴⁶ Bord, p. 27.

⁴⁷ Ragon, *Orthod. mac.*, p. 31.

⁴⁸ Doumic, *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ Bord, p. 48.

the expansion of each one's personality in the being of his neighbor and of things; according to Ragon,⁵⁰ it was a universal fraternity. Condorcet says that the object of Freemasonry was to supply the place of philosophical proselytism, then dangerous, by spreading safely the essential truths of the philosophy among a number of adepts.⁵¹ From that time on, such seems to have been the real character of the society.

According to the General Constitutions of Masonry, published at London in 1723, a Mason is obliged, as a true Noachite (i.e., son of Noe) to conform to the rule of morals. After that each may remain in his denomination or religious persuasion. A vague deistic religion, in which the vaporous and inert Divinity is lost in the abstraction or is confounded with the world; a supple morality accommodated to the circumstances: such seem to have been the basic doctrines of speculative Masonry at its beginning. According to the Constitutions just referred to, Masons should remain peacefully subject to the civil authorities; yet a brother who is engaged in a revolt against the state and has not otherwise committed any fault, ought to remain attached to the lodge.⁵² With regard to the society's means of action, they were indicated by one of its most famous leaders, Weishaupt, whom Louis Blanc called "the deepest conspirator that ever appeared." "When some great event has occurred," says the *Original Writings*, "we ought to suggest that it is owing to us. If a man of great repute appears, give out the notion that he is one of us. When one of us has acquired some part of the government, we give the impression that we had no part in it, so as not to arouse any alarm; on the contrary, where you can accomplish nothing, you will assume the attitude of a man who can do all. You must find an explanation of Christianity that calls the superstitious back to reason.

⁵⁰ Ragon, *op. cit.*

⁵¹ Quoted by D'Estampes and Jannet, *La Franc-Maçonnerie et la Révolution*, p. 163.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 164.

For this purpose you need merely quote various texts of Scripture and give some explanations true or false, it makes little difference, if only each person finds a sense in accord with reason." ⁵³

While Masonry was evolving in England, becoming professional politics and speculative politics, it spread out to the chief states of Europe. We find it in Holland in 1725, in Spain in 1726, in Portugal in 1727, in Sweden in 1736, in Switzerland in 1737, in Italy in 1739. Deep mystery prevails about the time of its introduction into Austria. We know merely that in 1797 it was in great favor there.

Freemasonry in France

It spread more rapidly in France than elsewhere. By penetrating into the upper society and into the philosophical and literary world, it exercised a potent influence. A Masonic letter patent (June 7, 1760), published by Gustave Bord, bore the signatures of Marquis de Seignelay, colonel of the grenadiers of France, of De Gourgue, chief justice, of the Marquis of Evry, and of the Marquis of Clermont.⁵⁴ At the same time the lodges contained a large number of small merchants. No precise rule prevailed. Until the installation of the Grand Orient in 1773, each one did in his lodge whatever pleased him, retaining from the English rules only the initiation ceremonies and the joyous meetings, followed by banquets that often became tumultuous.⁵⁵ The first Grand Master, elected June 24, 1738, was Duke d'Antin; his successor was Louis de Bourbon-Condé, count of Clermont.⁵⁶

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 102.

⁵⁴ Bord, p. 183.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-54.

⁵⁶ On these first two Grand Masters, see Bord, pp. 162-72. Cf. Deschamps, *Les sociétés secrètes et la société, ou philosophie de l'histoire contemporaine* (1883), I, 546; Bord, I, 236.

But in those same lodges, where representatives of the old French society came for questionable amusement, philosophers were hatching the conspiracy that would wreck the old order of things. After the fusion of French Masonry with illuminism, Voltaire joined the lodge of the Nine Sisters. Immediately after his reception, he was installed in the Orient, where he was welcomed by the Venerable, the atheist Lalande. For him was reserved the apron of Helvetius, which the lodge preserved as a relic. Before fastening it on, Voltaire kissed it. Thereafter in the correspondence of the "patriarch of Ferney" allusions to Freemasonry occur frequently. To Alembert he wrote (April 20, 1771): "Let the true philosophers form a fraternity like the Masons, let them meet together, let them sustain one another, let them be faithful to the fraternity, and then I will let myself be burned for them." Again to the same he wrote (in 1766): "Grimm has informed me that you initiated the Emperor to our holy mysteries." In 1763 he had written: "The mysteries of Mythra must not be revealed." Father Deschamps, in his work on *Les sociétés secrètes et la Société*, attempted to compare the intimate correspondence of the philosophers with the doctrines of Masonry; and that examination fully justifies the following declaration of a Mason: "Masonry had prepared the minds of men for a great moral revolution, when the works of the philosophers, Helvetius, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, d'Alembert, Condorcet, Cabanis, brought their powerful light, as the sun blends with the day to augment its brightness."

In 1737 Cardinal Fleury in the King's name forbade the meetings of the Masons; but Louis XV, perhaps thinking that those who were at the head of the society were going to suppress the danger, permitted the lodges to reform freely in 1772 and 1773.⁵⁷ Spain and Portugal tolerated them; all the

⁵⁷ Bord, pp. 64, 192.

other countries protected them.⁵⁸ The papacy alone clearly saw the danger. Clement XII by his bull *In eminenti* (March 4, 1738) and Benedict XIV by his bull *Providas* (June 15, 1751) warned the faithful against the meetings of the Masons. The future fully justified their fears, and the latest research corroborates the grave words pronounced at Vienna in 1827 by the illustrious Frederick Schlegel: "There are, in the history of the eighteenth century, many phenomena which occurred so suddenly, so instantaneously, so contrary to all expectation, that although on deeper consideration we may discover their efficient causes in the past, in the natural state of things, and in the general situation of the world, yet are there many circumstances which prove that there was a deliberate, though secret, preparation of events, as, indeed, in many instances has been actually demonstrated."⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁵⁹ Schlegel, *Philosophy of History*, p. 455. Frederick Schlegel was born at Hanover in 1772. This scholar, philosopher, and poet was connected with the eighteenth-century masters of German thought, Schleiermacher, Schelling, Hegel; he was a friend of Madame de Stael. He was converted to Catholicism in consequence of his historical studies on the Middle Ages.

On Freemasonry, see an article by Father Thurston in *The Month*, June, 1917, pp. 529-42; Father Dudon in *Etudes*, December 20, 1917, and Father Gruber, art. "Masonry" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, 773 ff.

CHAPTER XV

The Catholic Forces in the Eighteenth Century

SINCE the formidable coalition of passions and interests which, in the sixteenth century, had given the Lutheran heresy its extension and its significance, the Church did not experience any other equal peril. The assault that it encountered in the eighteenth century was, in many respects, even more formidable: the attack was more universal, better organized, better led; the plan of campaign was clearer and more precise. But the forces of resistance were likewise greater on the side of the Church: the papacy was finally freed from the misfortunes that had obscured its prestige and weakened its strength in the period of the Renaissance; the clergy of both classes, brought back by the discipline of the seminaries to purity of life and of faith, formed a powerful body in normal hierarchical order; religious congregations, in the full fervor of their beginning or of their reform, were instructing the great and the common people; and, in circles most penetrated with the poison of unbelief or license, even at the court, the purest sanctity flourished.

Spain

In the Churches of Spain, Italy, Austria, and France, during the eighteenth century, the appearances were, we must confess, finer than the reality. The social edifices like the material structures, kept an appearance of grandeur and solidity until the moment when they collapsed.

In old Spain, proud of her orthodoxy, Catholicism, the religion of the state, still imbued the institutions, the laws, and

the morals. Countless religious monuments, on which the generosity of her kings and her people had lavished the gold of the New World, covered her soil. More than 70,000 secular clergy, 180 archbishops and bishops, 37,000 professed religious men, belonging to 40 religious orders, and 37,000 nuns, divided among 30 congregations, were engaged in works of education and charity. The Spanish episcopate had not the aristocratic and haughty mien of the French episcopate; the monk and the *señor cura* were popular; they were par excellence men of good counsel.¹ The faith of the people was warm in its expression. But superstition and fanaticism were daily gaining ground in the popular classes. The clergy slumbered in a soft indifference. Several dioceses had no seminary; the lower clergy lived in ignorance and idleness. The tone of the preaching declined until it became trivial or even grotesque. The episcopate no longer had the energy to resist the encroachments of the royal power, which became more and more despotic. After the concordats of 1717 and 1723, which were nothing more than provisional compromises, the concordat of 1753 recognized in the king of Spain the universal "patron" of the churches of the kingdom during eight months of the year. In 1765 the jurist Campo-manès published his treatise on the royal right to alienate in mortmain and proposed to the Council of Castile that it declare ecclesiastics incapable of acquiring real property. On various pretexts the kings here and there put Church property up for sale.² The French regime of the intendants, introduced into Spain by Philip V and made general by his successors, added the social uneasiness to the religious uneasiness. Although the philosophical doctrines had not openly entered Spain, an unexpressed irritation was disturbing men's minds.

Then in the bosom of the Church some men arose to react against the invading evil. Father Isla published his famous

¹ Desdévives du Désert, *L'Espagne de l'Ancien Régime*, II, 38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

Fray Gerundio to lead preachers back to simplicity and good taste. A number of bishops joined to their exhortations the example of their holy lives. Don Martin Cenarro y Lapiedra, bishop of Valladolid from 1743 to 1753, economized on his table in order to make generous alms; Diego de Rivera, bishop of Barbastro, throughout his life preserved the simplicity of a monk; Don Antonio Golvan, archbishop of Granada, had 300 children brought up at his expense; the monks of Madrid each day distributed 30,000 plates of soup to the needy.

Other priests undertook to organize the charity. The type of these apostles was Don Diaz de la Guerra, bishop of Sigüenza from 1777 to 1800, whose name deserves a place of honor among the greatest bishops of the eighteenth century. He transformed one of his country estates into a model farm, built a village about one of his castles, founded textile mills and paper factories, visited and aided the workers in tanneries and dye-works, which were numerous in his region. Son of a lowly mason, he was always fond of assisting the artisans; but intellectual culture was not less cherished by him. He himself inspected the schools and presided in person at the *concursum* established for nomination to the benefices. He founded a school of music and bequeathed a valuable library to the college of Jerez, his birthplace.³

Italy

The religious condition of Italy, where the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559 assured the Spanish preponderance, was not unlike that of Spain. According to the statistics of the time, the kingdom of Naples then counted 81,000 priests or religious men, and Sicily more than 63,000.⁴

The Catholic faith was officially professed and protected, without great care for what today we would call liberty of conscience. Nowhere

³ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁴ Berthe, *Saint Alphonse de Liguori*, I, 105.

did anyone acknowledge in principle the right to favor irreligion by book or by spoken word. The bishops claimed and obtained the intervention of the public civil power to put an end to guilty unions and to scandals that were pointed out to them by their parish priests. The latter required, at Easter time, certificates of communion from all their parishioners. The religious processions took place in public with a pomp and frequency not usual elsewhere. People took delight in ceremonies of this sort, in brilliant retinues, in richly ornamented wayside altars. Along the streets and highways the Madonnas were numerous: there the people used to express their joy by fireworks and concerts.⁵

But that demonstrative devotion and that fondness for spectacles, although it was sincere and gracious in its naïve expressions, somewhat deserved the criticism expressed by a French traveler, that it was too external and inconsistent. St. Alphonsus wrote that in the many convents of the kingdom most of the nuns had entered without any real vocation, constrained to do so by their parents.⁶ He also declares that many secular priests never opened a book, once they were ordained, and forgot the little they had learned.⁷ The greater part of the clergy, not having any care of souls, exercised no active ministry. They lived at home with their family on the fruit of their benefice.⁸ The life of these priests was not always edifying; the morals of the laity were very lax. The faith itself tended to disappear. In 1753 St. Alphonsus was alarmed at the number of atheists he found in the city of Naples. In Italy also this muffled murmur of impiety was mounting, which Fénelon had heard in France. Italy, like Spain, needed saints. God, who measures His graces according to the dangers, bestowed them abundantly on the Italian soil. Four great saints presented, in the face of the rising tide of vices and impiety, the austerity of their teaching

⁵ Angot des Rotours, *Saint Alphonse de Liguori*, p. 8.

⁶ St. Alphonsus, *Réflexions utiles aux évêques*.

⁷ Angot des Rotours, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁸ Berthe, *op. cit.*, I, 165.

and of their example. These were: Francesco Girolamo who edified Naples; St. Leonard of Port Maurice and St. Paul of the Cross who preached in northern Italy; and especially St. Alphonsus Liguori whose activity went beyond the limits of his country and whom Pope Pius IX proclaimed a doctor of the universal Church.

St. Francesco Girolamo (1643-1716)

Francesco Girolamo, a Jesuit, renewed in his popular preaching at Naples and vicinity the prodigies of the monastic preaching of the fifteenth century. At his words, throngs of people burst into tears, sinners made public confession of their faults; congregations of merchants and of artisans were formed after his sermons and placed themselves under his guidance.⁹ Since Savonarola, Italy had not witnessed such spectacles.

St. Leonard of Port Maurice (1676-1751)

With equal ardor the Franciscan Leonard of Port Maurice preached throughout a great extent of country. In the first days of his priesthood he had thought of consecrating his life to the foreign missions, then to make a deep study of the sacred and profane sciences to strive against the enemies of religion. Providence did not allow him to realize these two projects. The servant of God suffered much thereby. He had to expend his life here and there in his country, without plan or preconceived order, according to the needs of the people. The dioceses of Alberga, Massa, Arezzo, Volterra, the country districts of Siena, Genoa, and Corsica were places where he preached, by word and example, austerity, charity, and the purest love of God. The Grand Duke of Tuscany sent for him to reform the morals of his states. All Italy wished to see him and hear him.

⁹ Francis Girolamo was canonized (May 26, 1830) by Gregory XVI.

He died November 26, 1751, at the age of seventy-four. He had consecrated almost fifty years of his life to the apostolate. We may say that he has not ceased to preach, for today in the whole world thousands of souls hear Mass by following the method of St. Leonard of Port Maurice.¹⁰

St. Paul of the Cross (1694-1775)

While Francesco Girolamo in the Company of Jesus and Leonard of Port Maurice in the Order of St. Francis were preaching to the peoples of Italy, Paul of the Cross, a former soldier, then a hermit, was laying the foundations of a new institute of missionaries, destined to preach the faith in the whole world and to labor particularly for the conversion of England. Such was the origin of the congregation known later under the name of Society of the Passionist Fathers. Their first mission opened at Orbitello in Tuscany, September 14, 1737.

Five years before, in the little town of Scala on the picturesque shore of the Tyrennian Sea, not far from Amalfi, St. Alphonsus Liguori had constituted the first community of the Redemptorist Fathers.

St. Alphonsus (1696-1787)

Alphonsus Liguori had first been a brilliant lawyer. He was born in 1696 of a noble Neapolitan family. Solid studies developed in him the gifts which he had received from Providence: a brilliant imagination, a retentive memory, a sound judgment, an exquisite heart. The juridical culture, which reached to the highest metaphysics by the principles it involved, the finest psychology by the studies of morals that it required, the most delicate arts by the suppleness that it exacted, had achieved the training of that richly endowed soul. Every cir-

¹⁰ He was canonized by Pius IX in 1867.

cumstance prepared Alphonsus Liguori to become the doctor of modern times. The young man cultivated the gifts he had received from nature and he responded generously to all the solicitations of grace.

In 1723 a providential event gave a definite direction to his life. A dispute of gravest importance had arisen between Duke Orsini and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Alphonsus accepted the defense of Duke Orsini's interests. With utmost care he studied the case and, believing in the justice of his client's case, used all his talent in its behalf. But at the hearing of the case he saw that he had been mistaken about the meaning of a document. He acted accordingly. But thenceforth he resolved no longer to use his time in engaging in purely human affairs; he would now plead only the cause of God. On October 23 of that same year he put on the clerical habit. Advancing by the various degrees to the priesthood, he was at length ordained priest on September 21, 1726. Thereafter Alphonsus labored for the Church by the continual devotedness of a life that God prolonged to the age of ninety years, by the labors of the new order which he founded under the title of the Most Holy Redeemer, by the admirable writings that won him the title of doctor of the Church.

The warmth of his piety was poured forth in numerous ascetical writings. The best known of these are his paraphrase (1750) of the *Salve Regina* under the title of *The Glories of Mary*, and the remarkable commentary on four verses of St. Paul on charity,¹¹ which he gave to the public in 1763; it is a complete manual of perfection for the use of persons of every state of life. From 1748 to 1779 he published eight editions, repeatedly re-edited and augmented, of his *Theologia moralis*. This work is a monument of science and wisdom, which made an epoch in the history of clerical science.

Between the rigorism of the Jansenists and the laxity of

¹¹ See I Cor. 14: 4-7.

certain casuists, this prudent theologian established, for the solution of cases of conscience, precise formulas that would eventually constitute the Liguorian system of equiprobabilism. In the maze of opinions and authorities, which is the path the conscience must follow? The holy doctor had been taught that the more probable course must be followed. But experience soon led him to abandon that theory. In 1749, in a special dissertation on the question, he took the stand that "even in the presence of a more probable opinion, it is permissible to follow a probable opinion, if this rests on a serious reason or authority." But did not that rule grant too much to liberty of choice? The saint thought so and, in 1755, he added a reservation to his principle: "provided that the difference of probability is not enormous between the two opinions." Finally, after further studies, discussions, and reflections, he reached (1767) his definitive formula, which grants liberty of action for or against the law only in the case of conflict between different opinions "almost equally probable."¹² The formula of equiprobabilism was found.¹³ Subsequently the rational basis of the view would be discussed, but the solutions reached by St. Alphonsus by his system became, for moralists and for confessors, a safe rule, officially recommended by the Supreme Pontiffs.

Not only by his writings, but also by the congregation which he founded the holy superior extended his influence beyond the frontiers of Italy. On his first disciples he imposed the vow to preach the gospel to the infidels if the superiors destine them for that work. In 1764 he indicated in his constitutions the way the members residing abroad are to correspond with their superiors. However, in 1785, when the holy founder, weighed down by interior and exterior trials, had only two years more to live, the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer had not

¹² *Dico non licere sequi opinionem minus probabilem, cum opinio quae stat pro lege est certo probabilior.* On the contrary, *cum opinio minus tuta est aequae vel fere aequae probabilis, potest quis eam licite sequi* (*Theologia moralis*, 7th ed.).

¹³ Kannengieser, art. "Alphonse de Liguori" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*

yet extended beyond the borders of the Peninsula. From the heart of Germany two new disciples came to him in time to console his last days.

Clement Mary Hofbauer (1751-1821)

One of these men was Clement Mary Hofbauer. He was born December 26, 1751, at Tasswitz, a little village of Moravia in the Austrian Empire, of a family of poor farmers. Successively baker's assistant, servant in a monastery of Premonstratensians, hermit at Muhlfrauen, obliged to resume his first occupation after the suppression of the hermitages by Joseph II, Hofbauer had long suffered from that internal distress about vocation to the perfect life which has been experienced by many great souls. At Rome, where he went on pilgrimage to seek light, while he was hearing Mass in a church of the Redemptorists, he felt himself suddenly enlightened, and asked admission into the new institute. Two years later, he crossed the mountains again and established houses of his Order at Warsaw, then at Vienna. At that time Josephism, Jansenism, and philosophism were extending their ravages in those countries. The intrepid son of St. Alphonsus confronted all the dangers. His work would appear incredible were it not vouched for by eyewitnesses.¹⁴ He concerned himself with all souls in distress. Germans, Poles, Catholics, Jews, Protestants, rich and poor, clergy and laity, all were the object of his zeal. He felt keenly the need of new forms of preaching that were demanded by the new times. He said: "The gospel must be preached today in an altogether new way." Having settled at Vienna in 1809, there he passed the last twelve years of his life, striving against Josephism, and he there revived the finest days of the reign of Maria Theresa.¹⁵

St. Alphonsus' solicitude extended not only to the people

¹⁴ Berthe, *op. cit.*, II, 630.

¹⁵ St. Clement Maria Hofbauer was canonized by Pius X in 1909.

governed by the "sacristan emperor." The progress that impiety was making in the Catholic countries deeply afflicted the soul of the holy old man. In 1777 he published a small work (*La fedeltà dei Vassalli*) which in fiery language implored the Christian kings to combat the progress of unbelief in the interest of their thrones as well as for the sake of their subjects. He declares: "In vain can we say that human laws and their penal sanctions are enough to safeguard states. This is a profound mistake. Neither laws nor punishments will halt the audacious man who has no purpose in this world but the gratification of his lusts. Only religion produces morals and brings about an observance of the laws. . . . The kings who forget the interests of God and think only of their own interests are working for their ruin." ¹⁶ In various ways St. Alphonsus succeeded in having copies of his work reach the hands of all the sovereigns of Europe and also their principal ministers. But the ministers of the Christian kings of that period were Tanucci, Aranda, Pombal, and Choiseul. They had just exterminated the Society of Jesus and accorded all their favors to the philosophers.

The holy old man's cry of alarm was not heeded by the princes of Europe. He then turned to the valiant apologists who were fighting in France against the harmful doctrines of *The Encyclopedia*. Especially alarmed at the influence exercised by Voltaire, he wrote to Father Nonnotte who had just published a refutation of the philosopher of Ferney, to encourage him in his labors. To him he said: "Allow an old bishop to address these few lines to you. My age and infirmities obliged me to resign my episcopal office. . . . I am writing to you with the purpose of urging you not to let any occasion pass to answer the venomous productions of those agents of the devil who are called philosophers." ¹⁷ The evil was immense everywhere in Europe, particularly in France.

¹⁶ Quoted by Berthe, *op. cit.*, II, 440.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

The Church of France

The apparent firmness of the outward organization of the French Church should not deceive us. Those 135 bishops and 40,000 curés who in 1787 possessed about a fifth of the total land of France and received an annual revenue of almost 250,000,000 francs;¹⁸ that clergy which played a part in the state by its General Assemblies held every five years and which had its own fiscal administration in the diocesan offices, the ecclesiastical chambers; this Church so closely united with the state that the two institutions seemed to enter into each other and to strengthen each other; all that traditional and majestic organization, elevated in its outward manifestations by an etiquette religiously observed, gave at first glance an impression of strength and stability. The 1,356 abbeys, 1,200 priories, and almost 1,500 convents, housing approximately 20,000 religious men and 30,000 nuns during the second half of the eighteenth century, seemed to double the strength of the secular clergy. But in reality the rights accorded to the king of France by the concordat of 1516 and the abuse often made of them, had rendered the clergy too dependent on the civil authority. Its territorial wealth was sometimes a source of danger for it. The commendam had placed the government of a large number of monasteries in the hands of superiors who did not live in them. Hence came a decadence, not general, yet real in many of the monasteries.

The real Catholic strength lay in the holiness of certain great bishops, in the devotedness of a large number of priests and of devout and well-educated religious, in the deep piety of certain of the laity, in the remains of a traditional faith which lived the stronger and more deeply rooted in certain souls as these took account of the growing ravages of impiety about them.

¹⁸ This is the figure given by Taine, *L'Ancien Régime*, chap. 2.

In the French episcopate of the eighteenth century we do not find names comparable to those of Bossuet and Fénelon; but we see a large number of prelates of irreproachable morals, of evangelical heart, and more than one saint. At Gap, De Malissoles who was called "the saint of the Alps," at Cambrai, Rosset de Fleury who had already merited, in the see of St. Martin, the name of "the little saint of Tours"; at Marseilles, De Belzunce whose devoted labors during the terrible plague of 1720 had won the admiration of all; at Clermont, De Bonal whose holiness was venerated by Louis XVI; all the bishops in succession on the nine episcopal sees of Catholic Brittany; all those who occupied the three sees of Gascony, those of Paris from the death of Harlay de Champvallon in 1695 up to the end of the next century, gave an example of truly apostolic life.¹⁹

Two men especially seem to personify what was truly noble in the French episcopate of the eighteenth century: Christopher de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, Louis François d'Orléans de la Motte, bishop of Amiens. We have already taken note of Beaumont who, amid the most difficult circumstances, for thirty-five years battled for the defense of sound doctrines.

Louis de la Motte, born in 1683 at Carpentras in the Comtat Venaissin, educated in the Jesuit college of Avignon, early showed that querulous trait of mind and that exuberance of outward life which, in the men of his region, are often found associated with a fairness of practical good sense and soundness of judgment. Successively theological canon of Carpentras, missionary, vicar general of the archbishop of Aix, he was appointed administrator of the diocese of Senez when in 1727 the Council of Embrun condemned Bishop Soanen as refractory to the decisions of the universal Church. The good that he accomplished in his various posts led to his being appointed (1773) bishop of Amiens. In this new office his first care was the sanctification of the clergy. A collection has been made of

¹⁹ See Sicard, *L'ancien clergé de France*, Part I, Bk. III, chap. 3 (II, 72-100).

a number of his counsels given to his seminarians, of his conference to his priests, of letters he wrote on various topics concerning the spiritual life; this collection forms the most complete, practical, and lofty code of the clerical life. Ordinarily his expressions were lively and picturesque. For example, he said: "On arriving in a parish, a priest ought to be all eyes and ears, and to have neither tongue nor hands." The amiability of his manners no less than the lofty worthiness of his life won for him the outspoken favor of the Queen and the Dauphin, who professed a special esteem for him. He made use of this regard to speak freely before the heir to the crown about abuses in the matter of the residence of bishops and about the unjust distribution of ecclesiastical goods. One day Queen Marie Leczinska said to him: "Do you know, my saint, that when you are with my son you do nothing but slander? I have reason to fear that, after you have passed in review the wrongs of the men of the Church and those of the court, you will turn your attention to the queens." "Madame," replied M. de la Motte smiling, "the greatest wrong that queens could do would be to fail to take Your Majesty for their model." "Oh," exclaimed the Queen; "just look at the Bishop of Amiens talking the language affected by the court."

History is necessarily better informed about the life of the great than about that of the lowly. It supplies us with only rare documents concerning the existence of the country pastors in the eighteenth century. No name emerges from the ranks of those obscure servants of the Church. At least we know the general conditions of their life and the general results of their activities.

Nothing today can give us a true notion of what the rural clergy was in the eighteenth century. They kept the registry of births and deaths, received last wills, took a preponderant part in the meetings of the inhabitants. According as the upper

clergy abandoned residence in their sees, the influence of the rural clergy increased. The curé became the organ of the law, the ordinary agent through whom the higher authorities transmitted their decrees. In Brittany he was the intermediary of the diocesan commissions for the division of certain taxes (tal-lage). In 1716 the question arose of granting similar powers to all the curés of France. Turgot regarded the curés as his sub-delegates; he declared that it was a good fortune to have in each parish a man who had received some education and whose duties would themselves inspire him with ideas of justice and charity.

The moral influence of the country curé was notably increased since the seventeenth century: the great reform movement undertaken by the Oratory, St. Lazare, and St. Sulpice, had reached him, and the philosophism, which disturbed the ideas of some members of the episcopate and the city clergy, had not yet reached the country curé.

A deep-rooted fault, however, remained in the ecclesiastical organization: the tithes collected in the parishes were ordinarily received by big tithe-owners who did not reside there and who left to the priest serving the church a scant portion of the revenue, called "portion congrue." In Artois the tithe took as much as 8 per cent of the product of the soil, and many curés were in the "portion congrue" class, without a presbytery; the church was falling into ruin, and the one who held the benefice gave nothing to the poor.²⁰ Hence arose a deep uneasiness, a silent irritation, in which the people and the curé felt themselves united because they suffered from it at the same time. At the States General, out of 300 deputies of the clergy, 208 were curés and, like the nobility of the provinces, they brought with them the defiance which they nourished for a long time against their chiefs. If the first two orders were constrained to join

²⁰ See other details in Taine, *L'Ancien Régime*, I, 114-20.

with the commons, that was because at the critical moment the curés withdrew in favor of this union.²¹

Elementary Education

The influence of the clergy upon the faithful was exercised by the education of youth, by religious instruction, and by works of charity.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century to the French Revolution the movement in favor of elementary education continued to be emphasized and to spread steadily and universally. In the country districts popular instruction was provided by the establishment of a multitude of schools, here by the curé, there by the vicar, elsewhere by clerics or masters. Many of these schools were free, thanks to the foundations of the church revenues or of pious individuals. Others were maintained, in a very modest way, through certain fees paid to the teachers by the pupils. The progressive diminution in the number of ecclesiastics in the recent centuries, by obliging the parishioners and the curés to resort to lay teachers, raised the question of assuring a salary for these latter and as far as possible donations in favor of the parochial schools.

An original and touching figure of past times is that of the master of the ancient regime, who was at the same time school teacher, chanter, and sacristan. The master was likewise and most of all the agent of the fathers and the auxiliary of the minister of religion. He taught the child the first elements of its mother tongue. He put the son of farmer and artisan in a position to keep the accounts of the farm and of his commerce. He was, next to the pastor, the man of the parish. He lent the help of his voice at the wedding Mass, and he murmured the last prayers at the grave. The state did not yet raise him to the dignity of a public officer; but the whole parish was attentive

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

to his needs : they used to combine to augment his wages and to improve his school ; the death of this man of good deeds was a public grief ; his grave, like that of the pastor, had a place reserved for it in the cemetery or in the church.

The Church was not satisfied with merely favoring elementary instruction ; it gave birth to several new congregations devoted to the education of the children of the people. Such were the Sisters of Providence of Evreux, founded in 1702 ; the Sisters of Christian Doctrine, called Vatelottes, from the name of the venerable priest who instituted them in 1712, Father Vatelot ; the Sisters of Wisdom, whose first establishment was made at La Rochelle by the zeal of Blessed Grignon de Montfort in 1715 ; then later the Sisters of the Holy Ghost, established near Saint-Brieue, the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament at Mâcon, the Sisters of Mercy in the district of La Manche, those of St. Charles at Nancy and the Daughters of Providence of Portieux.

St. John Baptist de la Salle (1651-1719)

The congregations of women devoted to elementary education were numerous in France. The efforts to found, for the same purpose, religious societies of men had not at first been happy attempts. Neither Father Barré, a Minim, who in 1678 tried to found at Paris some seminaries of schoolmasters, nor the earnest M. Demia, who established a similar work at Lyons in 1672, obtained lasting results. In 1682 a young gentleman, John Baptist de la Salle, priest and dignitary of the Church, not content with becoming the protector of the Christian schoolmasters, determined to become poor himself and to be an instructor of the poor.

He was born at Reims in 1651, at the age of fifteen had been provided with a canonry ; six years later, by the loss of his parents, he found himself at the head of a considerable for-

tune, and a few years later brilliantly won the degree of doctor of theology. The most esteemed positions seemed open to him in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. But concern for the poor children was the whole ambition of the young doctor. In his canon's house, then in a more spacious abode, he received in residence humble schoolmasters. They shared his meals, his whole life. Thus the young priest was able to study at close range these guests of his, making them gently feel conscious of their defects, finding means to reform their outward bearing at the same time that he regulated their interior life.²²

His family considered this sort of intercourse unseemly and said that John Baptist was forgetting his birth and rank. But the gentleman priest continued devoting himself to these modest natures to elevate them, and in them he found treasures of generosity. He resigned his post as canon and distributed all his goods to the poor without keeping anything of it for his work, which now lived on alms. If a teacher was lacking, the holy priest himself took over the class of small children. His parents, his friends, members of the upper clergy, all treated him as one out of his mind. He used to say that the approval of a few holy souls and especially that of his spiritual director, Father Barré, were enough for him. He adopted for himself and gave to his companions as outward garb a cassock of coarse material, closed in front by a metal clasp, like the dress worn by poor clerics at the end of the seventeenth century. To this he added a cloak with wide flowing sleeves, much in use among the peasants of Champagne, a white rabat, a three-cornered hat with wide brim, and thick-soled shoes such as worn by laborers.²³ This dress was an occasion of fresh derision. But the spirit of humility, poverty, obedience, obscure life, and hidden devotedness entered into the new religious family.

In 1695 the saint thought the time had come to set down in

²² Quoted by Delaire, *Saint Jean-Baptiste de la Salle*, p. 54.

²³ Guibert, *Hist. de saint Jean-Baptiste de la Salle*, p. 132.

writing the rules and practices that were observed for more than fifteen years in his community.²⁴ This was the origin of the rules of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools: revised by an assembly in 1717, they still govern the admirable society which by itself, during the nineteenth century, furnished half of the schoolmasters belonging to religious communities. The other congregations founded later for the same purpose are all more or less inspired by this institute. Its pedagogical methods have spread even to the public schools.

Among the reforms that stimulated the progress of elementary education, St. John Baptist de la Salle must be credited with two important innovations: the substitution of the simultaneous method for the individual method in the teaching, and the custom of having the reading of French precede the reading of Latin.

The practice, general until then, of giving instruction to each of the children, one after the other, seemed to him imperfect. Even when this method was supplemented by mutual instruction and when a throng of officers, intendants, decurions, pretors, and repeaters passed along the tables to supplement the master, it was hard to avoid lack of discipline and sloth in a large class. The wise teacher traces the plan of the new method in the following lines: "While a passage is being read, all the others having the same lesson will follow in their book. The teacher will, from time to time, have some of them read so as to surprise them and find out for himself if they are following." The teacher will not simply talk, as in preaching, but will question, sustain the attention, awaken ideas, accustom the children to seek by themselves, will train them to reflection.

A second innovation, which now appears to us quite natural, at that time alarmed the contemporaries of John Baptist de la Salle, as being excessively daring. Before his time the view was commonly held that children should learn to read Latin

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

well before being taught to read French; the reason given was that the reading of French was much harder and that the children should begin with the easier.²⁵ The saint decided upon the contrary method, which had already been tried in the Little Schools of Port Royal, but which disappeared with their suppression. The wise founder said: "The first book in which the children will learn to read will be filled with all sorts of French syllables." The future soon justified the excellence of the innovation.

The holy founder died August 7, 1719, leaving a religious family composed of 274 members, divided into 23 houses and teaching 9,885 children. In 1900 it counted about 20,000 brothers or novices, directing 2,000 schools and giving instruction to 350,000 children or young men.

Secondary Education

At the outset of the eighteenth century a man who combined a great teaching experience with a prudently progressive spirit, the venerable Charles Rollin (1661-1741), profiting by the rules adopted in the Jesuit schools and the methods employed in the schools of Port Royal, set forth in his celebrated *Traité des études* the code of secondary education. The cause of letters has been advocated with greater enthusiasm and eloquence, but no one ever spoke on that subject with more competence or with greater love. No one ever showed greater ability in drawing up the rules of that classical education which, by a sure and lofty progress, awakened the thought of the child, trained his judgment, developed his taste, and led him by steady ascent to the full flowering of his faculties.²⁶

But the intellectual movement which led to the production of *The Encyclopedia* started a campaign against Latin. The amaz-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

²⁶ Sicard, *Les études classiques avant la Révolution*, p. 42.

ing progress of the natural and mathematical sciences, of history and geography, undoubtedly justified, in secondary education, innovations similar to those which De la Salle carried out in elementary schools; and the pedagogical narrowness of certain followers of the old system evidently was open to criticism. But the reaction was excessive. Voltaire said: "I left college with Latin and stupidities." D'Alembert, Diderot, Grimm, Helvetius called for an abandonment of the Latin studies. Rousseau, in his *Emile*, without treating the question directly, abandons the pupil to his own spontaneity. The discredit of the practice of Latin exercises and Latin poetry, the use of interlinear translations, at the disposal of the student for his translations, were the results of this campaign in many schools. As these violent attacks against the old methods coincided with the equally violent attacks against all the positive precepts of religion, the consequences were fatal: the spirit of youth was nourished by the examples and maxims of pagan antiquity, but without the intellectual discipline that regulated the mind, without the moral discipline that governed the heart. The sonorous and vague declamations of the orators of the French Revolution were the outcome of this movement.

Two religious congregations courageously tried to stem the flood.

In the Oratory the famous Father Lamy, an enthusiastic partisan of the mathematical and natural sciences, at one stroke condemned Scholasticism, the use of Latin dictations, and Latin verse. But his congregation did not adopt all his ideas. In the upper classes a considerable place was given to the natural sciences, to mathematics, to history, and to geography. But the teaching of Latin and Greek continued to be the basis; and religion was always its general inspiration and its crown.

The Jesuits also had their man in the vanguard, Father Buffier, who wished to introduce the new sciences into the program of studies. But the pedagogical methods of the Society

remained faithful to the great authors of antiquity, especially to Cicero, the master of oratorical and literary style. By maintaining the practice of literal translation, of Latin compositions and dissertations, of Latin verse, of grammatical, logical, and literary analyses, they required a continual effort on the part of the student, and thus safeguarded mental discipline, indispensable for any education worthy of the name. On the other hand, the deep Christian sense of these schoolmasters made them avoid, in the daily intercourse with pagan authors, the real danger that might be encountered there. Their method consisted in presenting the Greek and Latin authors while at the same time taking them out of a particular environment, presenting them to their pupils, not as men of such a place and such a time, but rather as impersonal models belonging to all countries and all ages.²⁷ The student thus trained kept from these authors only their admirable formative perfection, that harmonious advance of thought in its natural movement. From that form the student then put on the Christian ideal, which the sons of St. Ignatius, by their instructions, their retreats, their numerous exercises of devotion, endeavored to nourish in souls.

Higher Studies

Higher religious studies were cultivated either in the religious orders or in the universities.

The seventeenth century at its close bequeathed to the eighteenth works of incomparable richness. Polyglot Bibles, corrected with the greatest care, had put within reach of the exegetes the earliest texts of Scripture. Bossuet and Richard Simon, representing two opposite tendencies, had thoroughly discussed the rules of sacred hermeneutics. Lenain de Tillemont, in his *Mémoires sur les six premiers siècles de l'Eglise*, with tireless patience and wonderful critical sense, had har-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

vested the most precious documents of Christian antiquity. Thomassin, under the title of *Ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'Eglise*, had studied with utmost precision the offices, the rights, the duties, the prerogatives of the religious orders of the Church, the condition of every kind of Church property, and whatever concerned benefices. Petau had published his marvelous studies of positive theology. Mabillon had, so to speak, created, or at least constituted on a scientific basis, the science and art of deciphering the old documents. The Bollandists had continued the publication of their incomparable *Acta sanctorum*, a critical collection of all the original documents about the lives of the saints. Noël Alexander had published his great *Histoire de l'Eglise*, and Claude Fleury had begun the publication of his.

The long disputes of Gallicanism and especially of Jansenism had a twofold result: to turn many eminent minds from the works of pure science; to fill with a poison of unorthodoxy many works of this time and thus to make them suspect to Catholics.

In the eighteenth century several scholars mentioned above and many others, such as Dom Calmet, the learned Scripture commentator, Dom Bouquet, who started the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Dom Ceillier, the author of the monumental *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés ecclésiastiques* in twenty-five quarto volumes, Dom Rivet, who published the first volumes of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Dom Vaissette, the scholarly historian of Languedoc, and numerous others less celebrated, had courageously continued the work of their predecessors. In the teaching of the traditional theology, Dr. Tournely, professor of the Sorbonne, Dr. Witasse, Father Legrand of St. Sulpice, and especially the illustrious Dominican Billuart, one of the most profound commentators of St. Thomas, cast a luster on the ecclesiastical science.

But while the Oratorians and a number of Benedictines were won over by the Jansenist error, the Jesuits were pursued, then dispersed; and soon afterward, efforts were made to turn over to the civil power the direction of all education.

The University of Paris still enjoyed, in the eighteenth century, two sorts of privilege: civil privileges, guaranteed by the king, and apostolic privileges. The former consisted at first in the exemption from certain burdens, such as the poll tax, money contributions, quartering of troops, conscription for military service; they also included the academic right by virtue of which masters and students, if they should be plaintiffs or defendants, could litigate their case before the judge preserver of the privileges of the university. Letters patent of March 30, 1759, confirmed all these privileges. As for the apostolic privileges, they included for the masters the right to confer degrees, and for the holders of degrees the right of "expectative" of vacant benefices.²⁸

In February, 1763, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, a royal edict, composed of twenty-eight articles, regulated the situation of the various schools of the kingdom. The bishops retained direction of them only in what concerned spiritual matters and the teaching of the faith; in the government of these houses, all the rest was placed in the hands of a commission of eight members, on which the bishop was the only ecclesiastic. On November 21 of that year, royal letters patent centralized this new organization in the Collège Louis-le-Grand, destined to form "a nursery of masters." The General Assembly of the Clergy in 1765 saw the danger. It was a first attempt of the future University of France. The bishops protested vigorously. "The exercise of the essential functions of our ministry," they said, "obliges us to protest against the edict of February, 1763. The bishops are scarcely permitted to have

²⁸ The Council of Trent (Sess. XXIV, chap. 19, *De reformatione*) had in a general way abolished the expectatives.

anything to say in the administration of the colleges. All parts of education are essentially connected together. The same teachers are charged with the teaching of human letters and with training the youth in the practice of religion. These two functions will continue to be inseparable so long as Christianity is the rule of our schools." In reply to this memorial, the government declared that no one can make any decision without first taking the advice of the clergy. But this promise was kept only in what concerned the military schools, which the next year were for the most part confided to religious congregations.

Apologetics

In the measures taken in 1763 to centralize the public instruction in the hands of lay officials of the state, the Assembly of the Clergy perceived the hidden influence of the philosophical sects. The enemies of religion regarded as an essential point the removal of the clergy from the care of training the youth. The strife now must be directed against these enemies. Apologists arose. A Jesuit (Father Nonnotte), a secular priest (Father Guénée), and a bishop (Lefranc of Pompignan) became particularly conspicuous in this conflict.

Claude Adrian Nonnotte, who was an object of Voltaire's pleasantries and sarcasms, was born at Besançon in 1711. Considered one of the most remarkable preachers of the Society of Jesus, he had been thus regarded in the city of Turin by the King of Sardinia. He assumed the ungrateful task of discussing for twenty years with a man who answered his arguments by witticisms and ridicule. His chief works are: *L'esprit de Voltaire* in two volumes and the *Dictionnaire philosophique de la religion* in four volumes.

Father Antoine Guénée, born at Etampes in 1717, rose by his own efforts and talent from a very humble condition to the highest scientific distinctions. He had the honor to succeed the famous Rollin in his chair of rhetoric and to be admitted in

1778 to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. In 1769 he published his principal work, *Lettres de quelques juifs à M. de Voltaire*. In this he vindicated the Holy Scriptures from the jokes and criticisms of the philosopher of Ferney. Voltaire wrote of him, saying: "The Jewish secretary is not without spirit and knowledge; but he is as mischievous as a monkey: he bites while seeming to kiss one's hand." George Lefranc de Pompignan, born in 1715, was the son of a president of the Montauban *cour des aides*. At the age twenty-eight he was appointed bishop of Le Puy, and was later raised to the archiepiscopal see of Vienne. He attacked Voltaire, Rousseau, and the whole sect of the Encyclopedists and philosophers. Simply by the aid of his writings we might reconstruct the history of unbelief in France from about 1750 to about 1775.

In his *Questions diverses sur l'Incrédulité* (1751), then in the *Controverse pacifique sur l'autorité de l'Eglise*, the *Dévotion réconciliée avec l'Esprit*, the *Religion vengée de l'Incrédulité par l'Incrédulité elle-même*, and lastly in 1774 in a solemn *Avertissement sur les dangers de l'Incrédulité*, Lefranc de Pompignan undertook to reply to all the objections, to establish all the distorted dogmas, all the misinterpreted facts. The style of his apologetic has unfortunately not the impassioned eloquence of the author of the *Contrat social*, or the inexhaustible fervor of the author of *Candide*. But his judicious mind saw and showed better than any of his contemporaries the essential vices of philosophism: its cult of the abstract, its irreligious positivism. Rousseau's system, he said, is condemned by the simple fact that there has been no *Emile* anywhere and never would be. He proved that to rest moral goodness merely on social utility, as did the philosophers of his time, was the incurable evil.²⁹

In short, Lefranc de Pompignan, Guénée, Nonnotte, and a few others in the eighteenth century nobly sustained the holy

²⁹ *Œuvres complètes de Jean-Georges Le Franc de Pompignan*, I, 282.

cause of the Church. But when an increasingly numerous public was devouring Voltaire's pamphlets, was enthusiastic for the utopias of the *Contrat social* and of *Emile*, undoubtedly an apologetic of greater scope was needed. Subsequent history might have been different if, in the middle of the eighteenth century, a man of genius had appeared, taking up the great apologetic opened up by Pascal, dreamed of by Bossuet and Fénelon, from the threefold point of view of metaphysics, history, and life; a man who would have made palpable and impressive the need of believing, the reasons for adhering to the Church, the means of acquiring the faith, and the happiness of possessing it.

"Begin by showing that religion is not contrary to reason," Pascal said; "then that it is venerable; then make good men wish that it were true; and then show that it is true." And Fénelon, in one of his letters, spoke also of a vast plan of apologetics "embracing the two extremities of mankind, reaching everyone." He mentioned this plan to the Bishop of Meaux. The question was to first show that the worship of God is necessary for man, then that Christianity alone is capable of paying to God a worship worthy of Him, and finally that the Catholic Church can alone teach this worship in a way suited to the need of all. "Do we appreciate what would have happened if, during the ages which saw the apogee of the monarchy, there had arisen bishops, priests, and laymen to proclaim the eternal social principles of Christianity—who, going beyond the Renaissance to the great doctors of the Middle Ages, would have taught an astonished world that there is such a thing as Christian politics, not to be confounded with the politics of royal absolutism, but containing at once the eternal truths and their applications, *nova et vetera*?"⁸⁰ Did those men fail in their mission whom God had prepared for that work? This apologetic is not met with at that time.

⁸⁰ Godfrey Kurth, *The Church at the Turning Points of History*, p. 186.

Preaching

At any rate, preachers animated by a great apostolic zeal labored to awaken in souls the purity and fervor of Christian faith.

Pulpit eloquence was not lacking in the eighteenth century. Any period that could boast of a Grignon de Montfort and a Brydaine is not without sacred orators.

Father Grignon de Montfort, who died April 28, 1716, at the age of forty-three after sixteen years of priesthood, had preached in all provinces of the West. In 1715 he founded the Society of the Daughters of Wisdom for the care of the poor sick, and in the same year founded the Company of Mary to evangelize the country districts. Since St. Vincent Ferrier the Church had not heard a more inflamed word; and few men of the eighteenth century bore more deeply engraved on them the marks of Providence, than this other Elias. His entire life was a manifestation of the holy folly of the Cross. His sermons, his writings, and his conversation were all impregnated with prophecies and prophetic views about the last ages of the Church.

Since the epistles of the apostles, it would be hard to find such burning words as the pages of his prayer for the missionaries of his Society. Few pages exist, in fact, more pathetic than the prayer of this earnest servant of God, when, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, seeing the flood of impiety threatening souls, he exclaimed:

Lord, God of goodness, be mindful of Thy former mercies. Remember the prayers of Thy servants during the course of so many centuries, of their longings, of their sighs. Remember, Lord, the blood of Thy Son. . . . Impiety is on the throne; the abomination is even in the holy place. Just God, must not Thy kingdom come, and Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven? . . . Lord Jesus, give us priests. Priests free with Thy freedom, detached from everything, without

father, without mother, without relatives . . . slaves of Thy love and of Thy will . . . souls raised up from the earth . . . who are ready to go forth burning like fires, to enlighten like suns the darkness of the earth. Lord, send us this aid, otherwise take away my soul, grant that I may die.

The Breton missionary ⁸¹ had scarcely quit this earth, when the Provençal Jacques Brydaine began his fruitful apostolate. By the bold strokes of his descriptions, by the clearness of his argumentation, and by the adaptation of his words to the most varied audiences, he appeared as the model of popular Christian orator. Born near Uzès in 1701, beginning his classical studies under the Jesuits at Avignon and starting his training in clerical virtues under the Sulpicians in the same city, while still only a deacon he began (1722) preaching. Having been ordained priest, he traversed most of France, giving missions, 256 of them, which were followed by many conversions. Benedict XIV, marveling at his success, conferred on him the title of general missionary. He died, worn out by the labors of his apostolate, near Avignon in 1767. The purity of his life, his zeal for souls, merited for him the right to be proposed as the model of priests.

"The word of God," said Brydaine, "is a hammer with power to subject the most rebellious spirits and a fire suited to soften the most hardened hearts. It is a violent wind that breaks the cedars. It is a thunder that alarms, a two-edged sword that penetrates to the deepest corners of the soul." This word of God, so well handled by the great missionary, is scarcely met again in the second half of the eighteenth century. However, four orators are notable for their talent and zeal: Father Le Chapelain, Jesuit, who eloquently developed the historical proofs of Christianity, Father Poulle, Father Charles de Neuville, and Father Clement. This last was called the Rousseau of the

⁸¹ Blessed Grignon de Montfort was born at Montfort-sur-Meu in 1673. See his biographies by Jac (1903) and by Laveille (1910).

pulpit: he was fond of showing Christianity as tending to the general usefulness of humanity. After them, toward the end of the century, Father Maury, Father de Boismont, and Father Boulogne let themselves be too much beguiled by the spirit of their times and transformed the sermon into a sort of philosophical address.

Piety

Preaching is not the only way that the teaching of religious truth and the rules of Christian life are transmitted to the faithful. Ascetical and mystical works become an active agent of the apostolate. The *Imitation of Christ* in the fourteenth century and *Introduction to the Devout Life* in the seventeenth had exercised an incalculable influence on the Christian world.

In the eighteenth century spirituality did not produce any deeply original work in France. The Brothers of the Christian Schools published (1739) posthumously a work of their holy founder: the *Explication de la méthode d'oraison*, a wise and clear interpretation of the traditional methods; and Father de Caussade, Jesuit, brought out, two years later, *Instructions spirituelles sur les états d'oraison*, in which he seeks merely to popularize the method of Bossuet in catechetical form. Both these works emphasized, in spirituality, the part taken by contemplation and love. St. John Baptist de la Salle repeatedly spoke of the prayer of "simple look," of "that simple attention to the presence of God, without any particular view or any reflection, an attention that penetrates the heart . . . and that makes the way shorter and levels all difficulties."

The spiritual works published in the course of the century were marked by a calm unction that contrasted with the agitations of that time.

A mystical work is rarely a reflection of the outward events which history notes at the surface of an era. More often it is the reaction of an interior life which, under the shock of the

boisterous agitations, turns back upon itself and seeks its nourishment in a deeper and more peaceful source. It was amid the troubles of the Great Western Schism that the *Imitation of Christ* was composed; St. Theresa's *Way of Perfection* was contemporary with the greatest quarrels of Protestantism; the century that echoed with the bantering laughter of Voltaire and the eloquent chimeras of Rousseau, also witnessed the appearance of books of lofty spirituality: Father Caussade's *L'abandon à la Providence divine*, Father de Lombez' *Traité de la paix intérieure*, and Father Grou's *Caractères de la vraie dévotion*.

Addressing souls already accustomed to the efforts of the Christian life, deeply impressed with the idea of duty, and feeling the need of expanding in the holy liberty of the children of God, Father de Caussade begins thus: "Today God still speaks as He spoke to our fathers, when there were no spiritual directors or method. Faithfulness to God's command was the whole of spirituality; but it was not reduced to an art that explains it in so sublime and detailed a way. Undoubtedly our present needs require it. But in the first ages it was not so." The author presents a striking picture of what must have been the spirituality in the soul of the Blessed Virgin, who in her reply to the angel, *Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*, expressed the whole mystical theology of the ancients. Then the learned Jesuit, in language of unusual depth and of accomplished literary beauty, shows how "the duties of each moment are the shade under which the divine action is hidden," as the accomplishment of these duties "is a source of growth in holiness," as God at times "enlivens a soul that abandons itself to Him by means that seemingly would bring about its death: and as always "He assures the soul a glorious victory."³²

The *Traité de la paix intérieure*, by Father Ambrose de Lombez, of the Order of Capuchins, teaches the excellence of

³² Father de Caussade, *L'abandon à la Providence divine*.

peace of soul, the obstacles opposed to this peace, the means of acquiring it, and the way to practice it. "All our piety," he says, "tends simply to unite us to God by knowledge and love, to make Him reign in us by our faithful correspondence with all His interior attractions, while we await the time when He will make us reign with Him in His glory. But, without interior peace, we can possess these advantages only very imperfectly. . . . The din within us, in our very depths, which affects the powers where God wishes to operate, distracts us more than that which comes from without, which strikes merely our ears." ³³

Few books have been written which, in a style so limpid and impressed with so agreeable an unction, give more practical counsel on the fulfillment of our daily duties, prayer, relations with our neighbor, scruples, aridity. The good Franciscan is one of those whose word seems to carry with it the virtue which it recommends. He says: "If fervor is necessary, interior liberty is needed even more. . . . In constraint we are stiff, inflexible, downcast, devout by system and method, rather than by grace and fidelity. The soul that is attached solely to the will of God enjoys the liberty of children: it is mild, modest, simple, submissive, sociable, always disposed to prayer." ³⁴ It is such a soul that you fancy you are hearing, seeing, and feeling alive at your side when you read Father de Lombez.

Les caractères de la vraie dévotion, published by Father Grou, S.J., in 1788, after the suppression of the Society, and soon followed by the *Science pratique du Crucifix* and *Méditations en forme de retraite sur l'amour de Dieu*, were the echo of a beautiful soul. Father Grou himself wrote (1784): "My spirit is that of childhood and simplicity. I gave myself to God twenty-four years ago. At that time I received the gift of prayer and of the habitual presence of God. What I am able to know of spiritual things, I did not acquire by my reflections

³³ *Traité de la paix intérieure*, Part I, chap. 1.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Part IV, chap. 10.

and labor. I speak and write without ever thinking of what I will say or write." The treatise on the *Intérieur de Jésus et de Marie*, published after the author's death, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, pointed to the soul of the Savior and of His Blessed Mother as the source and model of all profound piety.

Works of Charity

A spirit of kindness, gentleness, and generosity spread over all the clergy at the end of the eighteenth century and entered the soul even of those whom the worldly spirit had won or whom the philosophy of the day had more or less seduced.

The episcopate of that century showed itself faithful to the charitable traditions bequeathed to it by the preceding ages. Of Archbishop Christopher de Beaumont of Paris it was said that his charity was one of the glories of his age. Out of his annual income of 600,000 livres, at least 500,000 went to the poor. When fire destroyed part of the Hôtel-Dieu, the sick were moved to his episcopal palace. The Archbishop, after winning a lawsuit that vested him with the ownership of the Hôtel Soubise, at once turned it over to the hospitals: this amounted to giving more than 500,000 livres to the needy.³⁵ With modest resources, Bishop de Pressy of Boulogne carried out remarkable works. Archbishop de Durfort of Besançon practiced the generosity of a prince. The same may be said of De Fumel at Lodève, of Cardinal de Bernis at Alby, of De la Motte at Amiens, of De Bezons at Carcassonne, of De la Tour du Pin at Nancy. These prelates experienced, as it were, a need to give. Their heart was as noble as their birth, and their instinct of nobility corresponded to their sacred duties as bishops.³⁶

But we must also note that these great prelates were not

³⁵ Sicard, *op. cit.*, I, 386.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

satisfied with merely giving alms so generously; they were also engaged in organizing charity. Generally unknown is the fact that it is to them we owe, under the ancient regime, the creation of our fire insurance companies, under the form of an annual contribution.³⁷ Bishop de Pradel of Montpellier, at the close of the seventeenth century, inaugurated an institution for gratuitous and charitable loans. Bishop Jean de Caulet of Grenoble established an office of legal assistance. Bishop de Machault of Amiens, in 1778, organized an office of charity with headquarters at the diocesan office. Bishop du Plessis d'Argentré of Limoges in 1770, along with his friend Turgot, presided over the first meeting of the great bureau of charity established in that city.³⁸

One of the most original charitable organizations of that period was the "General Alms." This had been founded in the middle of the seventeenth century by a Jesuit, Father Chaurand, aided by several of his fellow Jesuits. It was a work of charity at home. The offerings of the benefactors were sent, not directly to the needy, but to an office formed of certain lay commissioners and certain priests deputed by the curés. The office aided preferably craftsmen, domestic servants or journeymen, persons over sixty years old and unable to earn their living, and persons with family dependents. In the organization of the General Alms, we may distinguish an effort toward the establishing of an effective aid furnished to fathers for the education of their children, and even of a general public relief. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the rise in the price of bread, the lessening of zeal, and especially the expulsion of the Jesuits, who were the promoters of the institution, led to the decline of the General Alms. The Revolution suppressed it altogether.

The workmen's corporations, whose origin goes back beyond

³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 395-97.

³⁸ Cf. Sicard, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Bk. II, chap. 6: "Les évêques et la charité."

the thirteenth century, were always regulated, at least in the general lines of their functioning, by Boileau's *Livre des métiers*. Organized into occupational "families," composed of a master, of one or two journeymen, and of an apprentice, grouped about a syndical authority who looked to the safeguarding of the general interests, they possessed, with their status of legal personality, the right to acquire and to administer property movable and immovable. Favored by the Church, which presided over the principal acts of the corporative life, these corporations enabled the workman to defend his rights effectively, to contend against foreign competition, to uphold the honor of the trade by the exclusion of incapable or disloyal workers, and especially to preserve the religious traditions in his daily life.

The efforts of the absolute monarchs to centralize the workmen's organization, the edict of March, 1691, which withdrew from the corporations the right of naming their administrators and replaced these by public functionaries, the edicts of 1694, 1696, 1702, 1704, 1706, 1708, and 1709, all were powerless to obstruct the corporative movement.³⁹ Some corporations had redeemed their ancient franchises at a high price.⁴⁰ In short, from this traditional institution emerged a labor organization which, during the eighteenth century, brought the products of French artisans to a perfection unequalled by anything else in Europe. A still greater benefit lay in those confraternity feasts in which the people of one craft knelt together about the banner of a patron saint, organized themselves in solemn processions, cooperated in coming to the aid of the sick or aged brethren, preserving, amid an invading impiety, the Christian spirit of past ages.

The same traditions, assailed in the cities, still continued in

³⁹ Martin-Saint-Léon, *Histoire des corporations*, p. 298.

⁴⁰ For the details of this organization and for the history of the corporations, see *ibid.*, and Hubert-Valleroux, *Les corporations*.

the villages. At the end of the eighteenth century the church was still the center of the community as well as of the parish. The church steeple was the bell-tower of the commune. The bell, which had been solemnly baptized and had been given a name, to which was attributed a sort of personality, marked for the peasant the hours of labor, of rest, of prayer, of the communal deliberations. The feasts were still numerous despite many suppressions since the Middle Ages. The Sundays were faithfully observed. On those days the peasant, dressed in his best, went to church, which stood in the middle of the cemetery, where his dead were laid to rest. However hard might be the famine, however heartbreaking might be the news of the wars, however heavy the taxes, he felt himself freed from the grief and servitude by the consciousness of his dignity as a child of God and a brother of the saints.

The bourgeoisie and the provincial nobility, alas, were reached by the works of Voltaire and Rousseau and the rumors of the court scandals. But in them the strong family and Christian virtues were far from being extinct. The memoirs of the time and those admirable *livres de raison* give us undeniable evidences of this fact. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Ange Nicolas de Gardanne wrote in the book containing items of the great family events and the counsels of the ancestors: "Do not have an insatiable thirst for money. . . . Economy is virtue and wisdom. . . . Money is an abominable master, it ought to be only the servant." Toward the end of the century, John Baptist Garron de la Bévère wrote these lines, intended to be read by his sons: "Most men make their happiness consist in the possession of the goods of this life. . . . Solid happiness is in the peace of a good conscience." A merchant of Aix left to his descendants these last recommendations: "I recommend to my heirs that they ever keep God in view in whatever they do. . . . Solace the poor, frequent the sacraments. . . . Always have death and judgment before

your eyes." In 1728, following the death of the Regent, a country gentleman, drawing up the genealogy of his ancestors since 1433, added: "It may be that our family goes back beyond this; but it should suffice us that all our known ancestors were always upright people. . . . A good reputation is of greater value than 10,000 livre income." The family penetrated the administration itself. The Parliament of Provence wrote (February 17, 1774) to the King: "Each community among us is a family that governs itself, that imposes laws on itself, that watches over its interests; the municipal officer is the father of this family."

It is in one of these Christian families, which had preserved uprightness and piety from father to son, that Providence bestowed an offspring in 1748. This son would become the man who, at the very time when the most shameless license proclaimed its depravity in high places, carried contempt for the pleasures and goods of this world to its most extreme limits. Benedict Joseph Labre, born in the town of Amettes in the diocese of Boulogne, at first tried to embrace the perfect life at La Chartreuse and at La Trappe. He was destined to practice as a layman the most austere virtues of the religious. Having left the cloister, he went through the world as a pilgrim, edifying, France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, especially the city of Rome, by his humility, his patience, his charity, his mortification, his devotion to the Eucharist and to the Blessed Virgin. Under the rags that scarcely covered him, the face of this beggar shone with heavenly sweetness. He died at Rome on April 16, 1783. The funeral of this man, poor of his own accord, who had sought only obscurity and abjection, was a triumph such as the Eternal City had not witnessed for a long time.⁴¹

At the very time when the beggar of Amettes rendered his

⁴¹ See Desnoyers, *Le Bienheureux Benoît-Joseph Labre*; Aubineau, *Le Bienheureux Labre*; Mantenay, *Saint Benoît Labre*.

soul to God, Madame Louise of France, daughter of Louis XV, was edifying the Carmel of St. Denis by the sight of the purest virtues.

On January 30, 1770, Archbishop de Beaumont, long the confidant of the desires and projects of the young princess, asked the King for his consent necessary for her entrance into religion. In the manuscript annals of St. Denis we read that the monarch, upon hearing the prelate's request, recoiled as from a blow, deeply moved. The Archbishop later declared that, if he had foreseen the painful emotion the King would feel, he would never have undertaken such a mission. Louis XV finally granted the permission. On September 10 of that same year, Madame Louise Marie de Bourbon was clothed in the habit of the daughters of St. Theresa, under the name of Sister Theresa of St. Augustine. For seventeen years the prayer of the holy nun and the fragrance of her virtues ascended to God as an intercession and a reparation. The noble daughter of France died December 23, 1787.⁴² Two years later the Revolution began the series of its outrages.

⁴² Grandmaison, *La Vénérable Louise de France*.

CHAPTER XVI

The Eastern Church During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

THE great troubles that agitated the Church of the West were not without effect on the Eastern Church. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the latter went through one of the most stirring periods of its history.¹

The Greek Orthodox Church

The most notable event in the history of the Eastern Church in the patriarchate of Constantinople is the resistance to the Protestant infiltrations, and finally the indirect triumph obtained by the Reformers once the period of strife was over. With the question of the rebaptism of the Latins, this event dominates the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²

We note the failure in 1452 of negotiations undertaken between the Hussites and the Greeks of Constantinople, perhaps at the initiative of the latter. In 1559 the patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph II, charged the deacon Dimitrius to make inquiry at Wittenberg itself about the new Reform: the copy, in Greek translation, of the *Confession of Augsburg*, which Melancthon sent to the patriarchal envoy, sufficed to enlighten Joseph II, who did not continue the relations any further.

¹ This chapter is owing to the collaboration of my dear friend and former student at the seminary of St. Sulpice, Father Cyril Karalevsky (Charon). He is the author of the great *Histoire des patriarchats melkites*.

² On the relations of the Greeks with the Protestants, see Schelstrate, *Acta orientalis Ecclesiae contra Lutheri haeresim* (1739). Cf. Kimmell, *Monumenta fidei Ecclesiae Orientalis*, pp. 24-44. The acts of the Council of Jerusalem are in Hardouin, XI, 179-274.

On the other hand, a professor of Rostock, David Chytraeus, after dealings with some Greeks at Vienna in 1568, published at Wittemberg (1575) his *Oratio de statu Ecclesiarum in Graecia, Asia, Africa, Boemia*. In this work he tried to show the practices of the Greek Church as a confirmation of the Lutheran faith, while sharply attacking those which were too near the practices of the Latin Catholic Church. This *Oratio*, which he spread in Sweden, brought him into controversy with Father Antonius Possevinus, S.J., who was then engaged in the conversion of that kingdom. But the controversy was limited to a war of pamphlets.

In 1573 Jakob Andreae, chancellor of Tübingen University, with the collaboration of Martin Crusius (Kraus), professor at the same university, sent to Constantinople a Lutheran minister, Stephen Gerlach, bearing letters addressed to Patriarch Jeremias II, known for his theological science and uncommon courage.

Gerlach had a conference with the Patriarch and several members of his clergy. After long discussion, they separated without coming to a full agreement, in spite of the precautions which Gerlach took to attenuate, in the Protestant dogma, whatever might frighten away the Greeks.

Jeremias halted Protestantism at the door of the ecumenical patriarchate. Cyril Lukaris would permit it to enter. Born at Candia in Crete (November 13, 1572), he made his studies at Venice and Padua, where the disguised skepticism of his teachers made him lose his faith. Priest in 1594, vested with high offices by the Patriarch of Alexandria, he made several visits to Ruthenia during the period of the Union of Brest, and had a hand in negotiating the entente between Protestants and schismatics of Poland to wreck that very union. Suspected of Calvinism, in 1601 he had to make a profession of contrary belief, which subsequently was utilized by the Ruthenian Catholics. In 1602 he succeeded Meletius Pighas in the patriarchal

see of Alexandria and had himself elected to that of Constantinople on November 4, 1620. Until his death (June 27, 1638) he occupied the patriarchal throne seven different times, surpassed in this by no other occupant of that see, where the changes were so frequent.

The new Patriarch's well-known Calvinist leanings were evidently a great peril for the Greek Church. He had against him also the Holy See, which continually opposed him through the ambassadors of Venice, France, and Austria. And these ambassadors themselves were urged on by their sovereigns. Lukaris, on the contrary, had in his favor England and Holland. A first time he was removed from the patriarchate in the last days of April, 1623, and was replaced by Gregory IV of Amasia. In reality, he had already been elected (1612), but was forced to retire almost at once before the opposition of numerous bishops. Gregory was not able to pay in full to the Turks the customary tribute money. After being in the patriarchate two months, he yielded his place to Anthimus II of Adrianople, who remained in the see only three months. The ambassador of Holland succeeded in having Cyril come back from his exile in Rhodes.

Scarcely returned to Constantinople, Lukaris set to work spreading Calvinist catechisms written by hand, and he prepared a profession of faith altogether Protestant, which appeared in 1629 in Latin, probably at Geneva.⁸ At an early date reprinted several times in different languages, it made a stir and provoked a number of protests; however, its authenticity is doubtful. In 1630 Isaac of Chalcedon succeeded in having himself named patriarch; but Lukaris had him sent away to Caesarea and recovered the power until October, 1633. At that date Cyril Kontaris, metropolitan of Berrhoea in Macedonia, overthrew him for eight days only; in March, 1634, it was the turn of Athanasius Patellaros, metropolitan of Thessalonica.

⁸ Greek text in Michalcescu, pp. 267-76.

In June, Lukaris returned, but was chased out again the next March by Cyril of Berrhoea. It would have been easy to remove the Calvinist patriarch to some Christian country and to hold him under guard: such was the advice of Propaganda. But the blundering of Cyril of Berrhoea spoiled the plan.

However, Lukaris remained in exile. But this continual change of patriarchs finally involved the treasury of the Church of Constantinople in serious debt. A regulation in eight articles was drawn up to remedy the situation. When Cyril of Berrhoea, unwilling to conform to these regulations, deposed Lukaris, who nevertheless still counted some followers, the Holy Synod revolted against him and overthrew him in June, 1636. The ambassador of Holland, unable to restore Lukaris at once, put in Cyril's place the metropolitan of Heraclea, Neophytus, who remained in office until March, 1637, the date when Lukaris began his seventh and last patriarchate. Thanks to the assistance of Rome and of the Emperor of Germany, Cyril of Berrhoea succeeded in finally overthrowing his rival in June, 1638. To be quite rid of him, Cyril had Lukaris strangled, or at any rate let him be strangled, by the Turks on the 27th of the same month. On September 24 of that year a synod solemnly condemned all the errors of Lukaris. Much inclined to Catholicism, Cyril of Berrhoea even made a Catholic profession of faith but was deposed in the midst of numerous intrigues and was strangled by order of his successor, Parthenius I (July, 1639).⁴

The influence of Cyril Lukaris, however, lasted for a long time in the Greek Orthodox Church. Parthenius II (1644-46) showed his favor to the Calvinists and exiled Meletius Syrigos. Then profound troubles disturbed the patriarchate. In consequence of this upset condition there were no less than ten

⁴ Besides his catechism and his confession of faith, Cyril Lukaris undertook to give the Greek people the first complete translation of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. In this work he conformed to the ideas received among the Protestants.

successive patriarchates from 1646 to 1657, the date of Parthenius III's election. Meanwhile all these discussions were lost sight of. But Protestantism gradually infiltrated into Orthodox theology, even so far as to change it profoundly on many points.

Outside of Constantinople the strife continued. In 1668 a synod was held on the island of Cyprus, the Archbishop presiding, to condemn again the doctrines of Lukaris. But the most important and most famous event, apart from the conferences of Iassi and the collective letter of the Eastern patriarchs in 1643, was the council that met at Jerusalem in 1672, convoked by Patriarch Dositheus, following the restoration of the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. Besides Dositheus, there took part in this council the former patriarch Nectarius and seventy-one Greek bishops or clerics. The acts of this council⁵ consist essentially of three parts: a letter addressed to all Orthodox Christians on the subject of the Protestant errors, a long exposition of the controverted points, divided into chapters, and the so-called *Confession of Dositheus*, rightly regarded as one of the most important monuments of Greek creedal writings. Dositheus played a considerable part in the condemnation issued by the patriarch of Constantinople, Calinicus II, in 1691, of the errors of a disciple of Theophilus Korydaleus, a certain John Karyophyllis, who denied transubstantiation, and in particular the use of the Greek word to express it.⁶

The holding of the Synod of Jerusalem was owing in large part to the influence of the Marquis of Nointel, ambassador of France to the Porte since 1670. This was the same Marquis, a friend of the gentlemen of Port Royal, who used with all his might to obtain the numerous attestations of Eastern prelates which adorn the celebrated *Perpétuité de la foi*. Almost all the

⁵ Text in Michalcescu or in Hardouin, XI, 179-274.

⁶ Text in Gédéon, *Κανόνικαι διατάξεις*, I, 99-105.

communities of the East figure in it. This zeal did not prevent Nointel from being later disgraced by the King.⁷

In fact, the habit which the Orthodox clergy had of going for studies to the Protestant universities of Germany or England, the influence of Peter the Great, who was imbued with the principles of the Reformers by his tutor the Genevan Lefort, the school of Theophane Prokopovitch and of all those who followed him, finally reacted on the doctrine of the Orthodox Church. For her the ordinary magisterium, in the sense in which we other Catholics understand the term, is the ecumenical council. But, for the Orthodox, for a thousand years there has been no such council, and the Orthodox theologians are not agreed about the value to be attributed to the different creeds spoken of above. The ancient hierarchical idea has been replaced by Holy Synods in Russia, Greece, Rumania, and Serbia, exactly copying the Protestant consistories. Moreover, the doctrine has changed: the deuterocanonical books, which until the seventeenth century were accepted as inspired by the Greeks and the Russians, are no longer so regarded.⁸ The notion of the satisfaction value of penances imposed by the priest in connection with confession has been completely changed. We may note further many other infiltrations caused as much by the Protestant influence as by the determined intention to deny vigorously whatever the Roman Church affirms: the Immaculate Conception, accepted by the Greeks and the Russians in the seventeenth century but today rejected; the coming of St. Peter to Rome, now denied and even removed from the liturgical books, at least by the Greeks; and so on.

The last discussion of any importance that occurred in the

⁷ The relations between Greeks and Protestants gave rise to several interesting documents for theologians, dating from the same period. See Mansi, XXXVII, 453-471.

⁸ See Jugie, *Histoire du canon de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Eglise grecque et l'Eglise russe*.

patriarchate of Constantinople in the eighteenth century referred to the validity of the Latin and Armenian baptism, otherwise known as baptism by infusion, opposed to that by immersion. We know that the validity of baptism conferred by heretics, which had been denied in Africa, was, on the contrary, always admitted by the Roman Church, provided the Trinitarian formula was kept. In the East we see at an early date the formation of two currents of doctrine: some accepting the teaching of Rome whereas others agreed rather with the African practice. However, as regards the baptism of the Latins, Photius, though rejecting the rite of infusion, said nothing that leads us to think he regarded the baptism thus conferred as null; Michael Cerularius likewise. Here and there we find texts showing that certain Greeks, after the Schism, rebaptized Latins who passed over to Orthodoxy, but these are isolated instances, as is evident from other texts of Greek theologians of the Middle Ages, who do not even raise the question. In the Council of Florence this problem was not even taken up, an evidence that it did not exist. As a fact, in 1484 Patriarch Simeon of Trebizond required merely the anointing with holy chrism after the profession of faith, and Cyprian of Constantinople (1708-9) without hesitation admitted the validity of the Latin baptism; in a reply to Peter the Great, Jeremias III (1716-26) held the same view. The anti-Catholic Synod of Constantinople of 1722 does not speak of the matter at all.⁹

In Russia we see some instances of rebaptism in the early Middle Ages; but these evidently arose from the ignorance of certain priests who confused an accessory rite with the essential. It was through fanaticism that the patriarch of Moscow, Philaret Nikitich, in the synod of 1620, ordered the rebaptism of all Catholics who should pass over to Orthodoxy, whether they were of the Latin rite or of the Oriental rite. In any event,

⁹ Mansi, XXXVII, 127-207.

that decision was overruled by the decision of the great Synod of Moscow of 1667. Since then the Russian Church has always admitted the validity of the Latin baptism. The Orthodox profession of faith and the anointing with holy chrism suffice for reception into Orthodoxy.

In 1750 a Greek hermit, Auxentius by name, living in the little village of Katirli near Ismidt (Nicomedia), had acquired renown for holiness, real or supposed, for on this point the Greek sources themselves do not agree. Wishing to increase his popularity, he began to preach against the Latins and to teach that their baptism was invalid. Patriarch Cyril V (1748-51) secretly supported him. His successor tried to repress Auxentius.¹⁰ The latter ended by stirring up the beginning of a sedition. The Turks, deciding to rid themselves of him, sent him to Constantinople, and during the voyage drowned him in the Propontis or Sea of Marmora (September 5, 1752). The Sultan then put Cyril V back on the patriarchal throne, which he occupied once more from 1752 to 1757. In January, 1755, he published an encyclical in which he declared as null all the sacraments of the Latins.¹¹ But the bishops of the Holy Synod, who did not share his view, publicly condemned a pamphlet directed against Latin baptism (April 28, 1755),¹² and re-established the true doctrine of the Orthodox Church. Patriarch Cyril, enraged, obtained an order of the Porte to send all the bishops back to their eparchies, and then he himself, the next July, published a new sentence of condemnation of Latin baptism, which he had signed by Matthew of Alexandria and Parthenius of Jerusalem.¹³ Officially the Church of Constantinople still holds to this decision, in spite of the protests of many of its theologians.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 587-605.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, cols. 605-9.

¹² *Ibid.*, cols. 609-17.

¹³ *Ibid.*, cols. 617-21.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, cols. 621-27, 629-33.

The Church of Constantinople

From the internal point of view, the most striking fact of the history of the Greek Church of Constantinople is the considerable number of patriarchs succeeding one another in that see. With Matthew II (1598-1602), according to the chronology established by Father Simeon Vailhé, we reach the 161st patriarch and the 188th patriarchate, for it sometimes happened that the same person occupied the see four, five, six, and even seven different times. A recent patriarch, Joachim III, who remained in office more than ten years, was an exception to the usual practice, that an ecumenical patriarch was removed at the end of about four years of office. With Neophytus VII (1798-1801), who closed the eighteenth century, we reach the 213th patriarch and the 278th patriarchate, which gives us 90 patriarchates and 52 patriarchs in the space of two hundred years. We find few sees with such mobility of its titularies.

The jurisdiction of the ecumenical patriarch extended as far north and west as the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire of that time: this principle, which served as a pretext for the greatness of the Church of Constantinople, is the principle regulating its increase, then its decline. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the patriarch of Constantinople exercised authority over Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, and Epirus, as far as Scutari and Montenegro, a region now forming Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania, the islands of the Archipelago, Crete, Asia Minor to the boundaries of the patriarchate of Antioch, that is, the Cilician Taurus and the Antitaurus to Diarbekir. As to the hierarchical titles at the end of the seventeenth century, there were 63 metropolitan sees, 18 autocephalous archbishoprics, that is, exempt sees dependent directly on the ecumenical patriarch without the intermediary of any metropolitan, and from 66 to 70 suffragans of a few metropolitans; in all about 150 eparchies or dioceses. The general tendency,

in disregard of all canon law, is to transform little by little all the episcopal or archiepiscopal sees into metropolitans.

The Patriarchate of the South

Of the four Greek patriarchates of the East, that of Constantinople, in spite of its disturbed history, still shows some life. The Church of Egypt sank long since: the only Christians of the country, apart from a few Greeks, are Monophysites, whose history is still enveloped with too much obscurity to enable us to present any summary of it. The Greek patriarchate of Alexandria is scarcely more than a title, and the prelates who have been vested with it are more often on the shores of the Bosphorus than on the banks of the Nile. Their names have been mixed in all the Calvinist quarrels. In the country itself, the hierarchy, counting ten ecclesiastical provinces in the sixth century, with a considerable number of suffragan bishoprics, in 1715 was reduced to four metropolitans without suffragans, of whom at most one or two resided intermittently, and with about ten churches for the whole patriarchate.¹⁵ We have to wait until the nineteenth century for immigration to give a little luster to that desolated Church.

At Jerusalem the three metropolitan sees and the fifty-five bishoprics existing in the fifth century were reduced in 1709 to six metropolitans, seven archbishops, and one bishop: but many of these prelates resided in the Greek monasteries of the Holy City; at most four of them lived in their eparchies. Another, that of Sinai, half-independent, lived in his monastery, which, with two or three fishing villages, formed his entire flock.¹⁶ But this Church, however poor in the number of its faithful, was rich in landed property. The patriarchs and bishops often went begging in Walachia, Ruthenia, and Muscovy:

¹⁵ Cf. Charon, *op. cit.*, III, 214-21.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-67, 352.

they brought back large sums. The revenues from this immense landed property, which did not arouse the cupidity of the governments until the nineteenth century, passed into the hands of the Hagiographic Confraternity, a sort of Eastern religious order, organized in the sixteenth century and composed solely of Greeks recruited in all the islands of the Archipelago, Greece, Europe, and Asia. The natives, the "Arabs" as they were contemptuously called, that is, the autochthonous Melchites, were rigidly excluded; all the dignitaries of the patriarchate, all the members of the hierarchy, were taken from its membership. The "Arabs" were allowed to furnish merely village priests. Conditions have not changed since that time.

Such was the system inaugurated in 1534 by Patriarch Germanus II the Peloponnesian (1534-79), consolidated by Sophronius V (1579-1608), a Greek of the Peloponnesus like his predecessor Theophanes IV (1608-45), who re-established the schismatic hierarchy in Ruthenia, and who nevertheless was able to deceive his time so well that for a moment Propaganda believed in his Catholic feelings. Paisie II (1645-61), administrator of the "dedicated goods" of Walachia, succeeded in having himself recognized only by force, thanks to the money he lavished on the Turks. Nectarius (1661-69), former archbishop of Sinai, occupied the patriarchal throne only transiently. Dositheus II (1669-1707) was certainly one of the most remarkable prelates of Hellenism in the seventeenth century. Born in 1641 at Arakhova, not far from Corinth, he became a deacon at the age of eleven, entered the service of Paisie of Jerusalem, then of Nectarius, and was consecrated by him in 1666, when twenty-five years old, metropolitan of Caesarea. The Holy Synod of Constantinople, petitioned by Nectarius at his resignation to give him a successor, chose Dositheus in 1669. He was then only twenty-eight years old. As soon as he was chosen, he made a journey to Walachia and brought back from there enough funds to pay part of the debts of his see. In 1671

he rebuilt the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, and the next year convoked the synod against the Protestants, of which we have spoken above. He took a notable part in the secular strife between the Greeks and the Franciscans for the possession of the holy places, with alternating success and reverse, and withstood the Reformers that arose in the bosom of Greek Orthodoxy, like John Karyophyllis and others. He also intervened in the affairs of the Russian Church. During his long patriarchate of thirty-eight years, he saw nineteen different occupants of the see of Constantinople come and go. His overshadowing of the highest authorities of Orthodoxy, his real learning, no less than his undeniable fanaticism and his hatred of the Latins, put him in the front rank of the Greeks of his time. At his death at Constantinople (February 6, 1707), besides other writings he left four large works. One of these, the *History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem*, an unmethodical compilation of almost universal Church history, has 1240 pages in folio, in fine print, including the additions of his nephew and successor, Chrysanthus. The generous hospodars of Walachia met the expense of publishing all these works, in which each page shows the deep hatred of the schismatic full of prejudices and bitterness. They were distributed gratis.¹⁷

Chrysanthus (1707-31) was also a great adversary of the Latins of Palestine and, like Dositheus, he published several works, somewhat less violent in tone. But the whole intellectual activity of these patriarchs was viewed from the side of the Greeks: nothing was done for the natives. The frequent sojourns of the Jerusalem Church authorities at Constantinople brought about the almost entire dependence of their see on the Holy Synod of the capital. Chrysanthus' successors—Meletius (1731-37), Parthenius (1737-66), Ephrem (1766-70), and so on to the end of the century—were elected at Constantinople, not at Jerusalem.

¹⁷ Cf. Palmieri, *Dositeo, patriarca greco di Gerusalemme*.

The patriarchate of Antioch for a longer time resisted the Hellenic influence. The native Melchites, Syrians by race and language, had almost entirely lost contact with Hellenism and had translated into Syriac and then into Arabic, the books of the Byzantine liturgy when they adopted it.¹⁸ After the conquest of Syria by the Ottomans (1536), the patriarchs of Antioch abandoned that city and established their residence at Damascus. Of about 150 metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops of the sixth century, just before the Arab conquest, there remained, in 1715, 17 sees, all residential, and many of them were still occupied by native Melchites.¹⁹

This quiet and mild population was plunged into schism more by the absence of relations with Rome than by its formal fault. Meletius Karme, archbishop of Aleppo from 1612 to 1635, became patriarch under the name of Euthymius that same year. He revised the Arabic version of the liturgical books which then supplanted the Syriac version, entered into relations with Propaganda concerning the printing of the Arabic Bible which was then being done at Rome, and finally sent his priest Pachomius to make his profession of Catholic faith and to accept the Council of Florence in his name. But he died in 1635, before he was able to sign the formula that Rome sent to him.

In 1626 two Jesuit fathers founded a mission at Aleppo. Its beginnings were hampered by two great difficulties that came to them especially from missionaries already established in the region. Euthymius Karme had been succeeded by a monk, a Greek of Chios, named Euty chius Saqzi (1635-48), then by Archbishop Meletius Zaim of Aleppo, under the name of Macarius III (1648-72). Well educated, but crafty and knowing how to take advantage of every situation, Macarius cleverly maneuvered between the Jesuits and the party favoring the Catholic Church, which their preaching was beginning to form,

¹⁸ Charon, *op. cit.*, III, 1-54.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-32, 237-41.

and the other Eastern patriarchs. Twice he went to Russia, where he took part in the condemnation of Nikon, patriarch of Moscow, had a share in all the great manifestations of Orthodoxy in his time, and yet succeeded in making people believe in his pretended Catholic feelings. Married before entering holy orders, he managed to win the good graces of the Pasha of Damascus, who at his death was succeeded by his grandson Constantine, then fifteen years old, under the name of Cyril V. But the Holy Synod of Constantinople, to which the bishops of the patriarchate had appealed the matter, designated in his place Neophytus Saqzi, bishop of Hama, relative of the patriarch Eutychius. Apparently Neophytus died in 1686. The patriarchate was then divided between Cyril V Zaim, who resided at Damascus, and Athanasius IV Dabbas, who lived at Aleppo. Each of these men sought to supplant the other. Finally they agreed to divide the patriarchate between them.

The mission of the Jesuits bore its fruits, since Father Queyrot, brought to Damascus by Euthymius Karame, there began gradually to arouse a movement sympathetic toward Rome. This movement was so strong that Cyril V made his profession of Catholic faith in 1717. Sylvester Dahan, metropolitan of Beyrouth, had preceded him in 1701; Euthymius Saifi, metropolitan of Tyre, probably nephew of the Patriarch Euthymius Karame, a pupil of Father Queyrot, consecrated by Cyril V in 1683, had always been Catholic. Other bishops were more or less favorable to the union; and when Cyril V died in 1720 and Athanasius IV Dabbas was sole master of the patriarchate, this latter was earnestly urged to declare himself for Rome. At Damascus and at Aleppo especially, the people were mostly Catholic. Athanasius IV was at bottom convinced of the truth of Catholicism; but, having been always mixed up in the Hellenic Orthodox world, he continually trimmed his sails, and even readily signed the famous anti-Catholic synod of Con-

stantinople in 1722.²⁰ This synod had been convoked especially at the instigation of Chrysanthus of Jerusalem. However, at his death (July 28, 1724) he retracted and made profession of Catholic faith.

The Melchites

Without loss of time, the Catholics of Damascus elected as patriarch the nephew of Euthymius Saifi, the priest Seraphim Tanas, under the name of Cyril VI. The newly elected, though not without ambition, was sincerely Catholic: he had been educated at Rome, at the college of the Propaganda. But the Greeks of Phanar did everything possible to overthrow him: a synodal sentence of December, 1724, declared him an intruder. In his place was chosen a Greek of Cyprus, Sylvester, animated with fanaticism against the Catholics. Cyril VI had to flee to Lebanon, where his successors resided for more than a hundred years.

A sharp strife ensued between the two rivals. Propaganda made every attempt, through the ambassadors of France and Austria, to have the sultan recognize Cyril alone; then to have Cyril recognized by the Catholics, and Sylvester by the schismatics. The attempt failed. Southern Syria, half independent under the domination of the emirs of Lebanon, in part converted to Christianity, inclined toward Catholicism; the northern part, except Aleppo, more directly under the hand of the Turkish pashas sold to the Phanariotes, remained Orthodox. A double hierarchy was formed. But, while the Catholic patriarchs of Antioch, successors of Cyril VI, were all native Melchites, those of Sylvester were like him Greeks. Not until our day did the Orthodox, aided by Russian influence, force the Greeks to give way to them.

However, Cyril VI, elected in 1724, was not confirmed by

²⁰ The text in Mansi, XXXVII, 127-207.

Rome until 1729, and did not receive the pallium until 1744. The reason for the delay was to be found in the arbitrary modifications, introduced in the discipline and the rite by Euthymius Saifi, his uncle, which the nephew had also adopted. At Rome, the authorities required the exact observance of the Greek rite and were unwilling to yield on this point to the demands of the Orthodox. The constitution of Benedict XIV, *Demandatam caelitus* (December 24, 1743), has remained as celebrated for the East as the bull *Unigenitus* for the West.

Catholic propaganda was powerfully aided by the establishment of the two monasteries of St. John of Shuweir (1697) and St. Savior (at the beginning of the eighteenth century) in the eparchies (dioceses) of Beyrouth and Saida. The monks adopted the form of the Western congregations, with a general, chapters, the Rule of St. Basil, and, at least for the Shuweirites, approved constitutions. But, once the period of persecutions was passed, they soon fell into decay. The secular clergy, reduced to some village pastors, married priests, did not revive with the practice of celibacy until much later.

Cyril VI abdicated without consulting the Holy See in 1759, designating for his successor his nephew, whom he consecrated bishop under the name of Athanasius Jauhar. He himself died in 1760. But Rome refused to recognize this election and designated in his place Maximus Hakim, archbishop of Aleppo (1760-61). At Maximus' death the bishops chose Athanasius Dahan, metropolitan of Beyrouth, under the name of Theodosius VI (1761-88). Athanasius Jauhar tried again to seize the patriarchate, but Rome intervened and succeeded in putting him down; he managed to become patriarch only at the death of Theodosius VI, and occupied the see from 1789 to 1794. In 1790 he assembled at the monastery of St. Savior a council that gave the Melchite Church a more precise legislation; but this council was not approved at Rome. After Cyril VII Siaj

(1794-96), the Catholic Melchite see was occupied by Agapios III Matar (1796-1812), under whose pontificate Jansenism and Gallicanism succeeded in being introduced into Syria, again retarding for a long time the real progress of the Melchite community.

The person most culpable in this affair was Germanus Adam, bishop of Acre, then metropolitan of Aleppo, an archiepiscopal see raised in 1790 by the council of St. Savior to the dignity of a metropolitan see. Born at Aleppo in 1738, he made his studies at the Propaganda from 1754 to 1765. He acquired extensive knowledge, which resulted in his receiving the see of St. John of Acre in 1774, then being transferred to Aleppo in 1777. He never resided in that city on account of the persecutions, but in Lebanon, whence by letters he directed his eparchy while mixing actively in the ecclesiastical affairs of Syria. He enjoyed the confidence of the Holy See, which even delegated him to a Maronite synod. But, having lost a futile affair which he himself brought before the Propaganda in 1796, he conceived a bitter resentment against Rome. Upon his return he passed through Tuscany where he made close connections with Scipio Ricci, the famous bishop of Pistoia and Prato, adopting all his ideas, as well as those of the French Gallicans. His tendencies made considerable stir, but the whole Melchite nation regarded him as an oracle. Sharp controversies followed: all the Catholic communities of Syria were involved. In 1806 the patriarch Agapios Matar convoked a synod at the monastery of St. Anthony of Qarqafe; Germanus was the heart of this assembly and filled it with his spirit. He died in 1809; all his writings, mostly unpublished, but copied by hand, were condemned by Gregory XVI in 1835, at the same time as the Council of Qarqafe, when it attempted to confirm the election to the patriarchate of his chosen disciple, Maximus Mazloum. Adam's influence lasted for a long time after his death, and the ideas of

withdrawal from Rome, which he had largely helped to preserve or to spread, have been overcome only in our day.²¹

The Maronites

The other Eastern Churches, contrary to the Melchite Church, still remain for us plunged in obscurity so far as any serious history of them is concerned. No systematic and critical work has yet been written on the Maronites, the Syrians, even the Armenians, although this nation possesses a rich ancient and modern literature. Hence I limit myself to a few words on each of these groups.

1. The Maronites, so named from the monastery of St. Maron on the banks of the Orontes, which in the eighth century became the center of Monothelitism in Syria, were at that period separated from the Orthodox Church of Antioch. Thenceforth they were called the Melchite Church, and they were given a bishop, then a patriarch who, in imitation of his Jacobite colleague, took the title of Antioch. In relations with the crusaders, they had in part embraced the Catholic faith, perhaps all of them, and apparently fell back into their heresy and consequently into separation from Rome. In the sixteenth century their final conversion took place, thanks largely to the missions of the celebrated Father Eliano, S.J.

In 1584 Gregory XIII founded the Maronite College at Rome, and about fifty years later a second college of that nation was installed by the Propaganda at Ravenna. In the college at Rome several distinguished men were trained, who rendered eminent service to the Catholic Church and to Syriac and Arabic letters: Abraham 'el Haqlani, better known under his Latinized name of Abraham Ecchellensis, who died at Rome in 1664 at a very advanced age, after collaborating in the Polyglot of Le Jay at Paris, and in the Arabic Bible printed by the Propaganda at

²¹ The Melkite councils since 1720 will be found in Mansi, Vol. XLVI.

Rome in 1671. He was also the author of more than a dozen interesting works, in which, however, the critical sense is sometimes lacking in consequence of his not having had a long preliminary preparation.

This same remark can be applied also to many other Eastern scholars of that period and even of a period closer to us. We must also mention Gabriel Sionita, Victor Sciala, and Faustus Nairon, contemporaries of Abraham; in the next century, the members of the famous Assemani family: Joseph Simeon (1687–1768), prefect of the Vatican Library and titular metropolitan of Tyre, a fine type of Oriental scholar, who, under Clement XI, enriched the Vatican with a considerable number of Syriac, Arabic, and Greek manuscripts and became immortal by the publication of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, devoted to the literary works of the Jacobite Syrians, the Melchite Syrians, the Maronite Syrians, and the Eastern Syrians or Chaldeo-Nestorians; a rich mine where there is always something more to be found while taking account of the works written in our own day. His nephew Stephanus Evodius, or Awwad, made the catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts of the Vatican and of the Laurentiana of Florence (1709–1782). Another nephew, Josephus Aloysius (1710–82), is the author of the *Codex liturgicus Ecclesiae universae*, an unfinished work. The last of the family is Simeon Assemani (1752–1821), an esteemed scholar, although less celebrated than the preceding.

The Maronite scholars of this period, though deserving of praise, have not resisted the temptation to exalt their nation extravagantly. But this defect is common to all the Orientals. They made every effort to accredit the legend of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites. Only in our time has this legend been shown to be utterly false.

The inner history of the Maronite Church is rather unknown. Confined to Lebanon, where they emigrated at an early date, half independent of the Porte, the Maronites have thus been

able to preserve their Christian faith without great persecutions, as also to give asylum to others. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they made considerable changes in the liturgy, bringing it closer to the Latin rite. This move was a mistake. It is true that at that period concern over these questions was not as great as it is today. The vague state of discipline occasioned endless quarrels between the patriarch and the bishops. The latter did not have a fixed residence or even dioceses with definite boundaries. Moreover, they were looked upon as auxiliaries of the patriarch rather than as residential prelates. To remedy these and many other evils, in 1736 the celebrated Libanese Synod was held in the monastery of Louaise near Beyrouth, the Patriarch and Joseph Simeon Assemani presiding.

The Syrian Church

The seventeenth century also saw the formation of a Syrian Catholic Church, that is, the return of part of the Jacobite Syrians. The union which they concluded at Florence had been merely ephemeral. The sixteenth century witnessed a few attempts without serious results. At Aleppo the establishment of the Carmelites, Jesuits, and Capuchins gave a fresh prospect to the Catholic propaganda: a considerable group of Jacobites were converted and received a bishop in the person of Andrew Akidiian, a former student of the Maronite college at Rome, in 1656. When the Jacobite patriarch died, the converts, called Catholic Syrians, elected Andrew patriarch: he addressed his profession of faith to the Holy See in 1661. But the Jacobites did not look upon this promotion with favorable eyes, and their patriarch, Abd-el-Messiah, obtained from the Porte a firman against the successor of Andrew, a certain Peter, former Jacobite bishop of Jerusalem, who had been converted by the Patriarch Andrew and a Jesuit father, his confessor. Patriarch Peter succeeded, however, in obtaining a

counterorder and in being left in almost peaceful possession of the Church of Aleppo. But in 1687, at the instigation of a new Jacobite patriarch, George Mossul, the persecution began again, and Peter died in prison in 1701. For almost the whole eighteenth century the Catholic Syrians, in spite of the efforts of Propaganda, were unable to elect a religious chief and had to turn to the ministry of the Latin missionaries.

In 1736 Michael Jarue was born at Aleppo of a Jacobite family. Ordained heretical priest in 1737, he started with great zeal to imitate the Catholics in everything. Father François Gausset, Jesuit, succeeded in converting him in 1760: this conversion was kept secret. Jarue, consecrated bishop of Aleppo by the Jacobite patriarch George II, made preparations to declare his conversion openly and to bring along with him the greater part of his flock. George III, successor of George II, having wind of this, kept him for four years in the distant monastery of Deir-az-Zafaran near Mardin, the residence of the Jacobite patriarchs. At last Jarue escaped, returned to Aleppo, renewed his profession of Catholic faith, and was confirmed in his episcopal see by Rome. The Jacobite patriarch tried unsuccessfully to recover the Church of Aleppo from him, then managed to drive him out. He died in 1781. At once most of the bishops assembled at Mardin chose Jarue for patriarch: two opponents formed an opposition party and a fierce strife followed. Jarue remained alone with four faithful bishops while the other party elected an antipatriarch and appealed to the protection of the Gregorian Armenian patriarch (not Catholic) of Constantinople. After many vicissitudes, Jarue, disguised as a Bedouin, fled to Syria; his bishops reached Aleppo and Egypt. Jarue established himself, in the greatest poverty, in a ruined monastery of the Kesrawan and finally acquired that of Charfe, not far from Beyrouth, where he established the patriarchal see of the Catholic Syrians. Owing to his indomitable energy, he managed to direct his scattered flock more or less successfully,

while waiting for better days. He died September 16, 1800, in the odor of sanctity. He is the real founder of the Catholic Syrian Church.

The Chaldeans

Farther east lived the Chaldeans, a branch detached from the Nestorians in the sixteenth century, after some previous relations with the Sovereign Pontiffs. In 1551, at the death of the Nestorian catholicos, Simeon V, a competition brought to the "see of the East," as it was usually called, the archimandrite of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, John Sulaka, who went to Rome to be consecrated by Julius III. He was put to death in 1555 by the Pasha of Diarbekir, but his bishops then elected Abdisho, who set out at once for the West to seek his confirmation at Rome. There he received the pallium; he even assisted (December 4, 1563) at the final session of the Council of Trent. Until about 1675 the series of the catholicoi united to Rome followed one another without interruption. At that period the Union seems to have been abandoned. The other succession of catholicoi which was formed in 1551 with Simeon bar Mama, the opponent of Sulaka, remained mostly Nestorian, although many of them, between 1607 and 1660, made their profession of Catholic faith. The patriarchate of the Nestorians was then divided into two branches, its titulars residing respectively at Kotchannes and at Alkosch. The last of the Alkosch series died in 1775 and had no successor, for his nephew, who was to succeed him, Mar Hanna, became a Catholic. The series of Kotchannes catholicoi still continues: it is that of the Nestorians.

An appendix of the Chaldean Church was formed by the Christians of St. Thomas on the Malabar coast in India. The Nestorian missions had been very prosperous during the Middle Ages and included Christian centers not only in India and the island of Ceylon, but also in what now forms Russian

Turkestan and in China. Peking was the see of a metropolitan, and the famous Christian inscription of Si-ngan-fou is of Nestorian origin.

The Armenians

Although at different periods there had been Armenian patriarchs, either of Sis or of Etchmiadzin or of isolated groups in communion with Rome, the foundation of a Catholic Armenian Church does not go back beyond the eighteenth century. Bishop Tazbas Melkoun of Mardin, a former Propaganda student, inculcated Catholic principles in Abraham Ardzivian, born at Ain-Tab in 1679. Abraham was ordained priest by the catholicos of Sis, Peter, in 1706, and was consecrated bishop by him in 1710. A Catholic from childhood, he was dispensed from pronouncing the anathema against the Council of Chalcedon. Thus he and his consecrator were subjected to numerous persecutions on the part of the Armenian patriarchs of Constantinople. When freed, he continued his apostolate at Mardin, Diarbekir, and Orfa (Edessa), but he had to withdraw to the Lebanon. There, with the help of some young Armenians of Aleppo, at the monastery of Kreim he founded the Order of the Armenian Antonines, which presently assumed considerable development. In 1740 he was able to return to Aleppo and there continue his preaching. With the assistance of two Catholic Melchite bishops, he gave himself a coadjutor, then consecrated two other bishops for Killis and Mardin.

In 1737, Luke, the catholicos of Sis, died in communion with Rome. As his successor remained a heretic, the three Catholic bishops in 1740 set up Abraham in opposition to him. Two years later Benedict XIV confirmed this election and the new patriarch received the pallium at Rome. Upon leaving Rome, he wished to establish his see at Constantinople or in Egypt or even at Damascus, but he was unsuccessful in this endeavor and had to return to Ker Kreim in Lebanon. There he died a

holy death in 1749. His successor, James Hovsepian, removed the pathiarchal see to Bzommar, close to the Syrian monastery of Charfe, where he remained until 1867. From Bzommar the patriarchs of Cilicia, the province where Sis was situated, directed the dioceses spread through Asia Minor, except Constantinople. In this city the Catholics of the Armenian rite were subject to the Latin patriarchal vicar ; but both of them in civil matters before the Porte were dependent on the Gregorian patriarch of the capital. The latter persecuted the Catholics, and this situation created numerous difficulties and disputes over the question whether the Catholics could lawfully attend the heretical churches. Rome decided clearly against such practice, in spite of the efforts of the celebrated John of Serpos. The Catholic Armenians did not have religious peace until 1831.

All these persecutions forced them to seek a support outside of Turkey. Mechitar of Sivas or Sebaste, born in 1676, was ordained deacon at the age of fifteen. After long journeys through the East, in 1700 he formed a plan for a congregation that would engage solely in promoting the Catholic faith among the Armenians. With a few companions he opened a printing establishment, but soon afterward had to leave the capital and seek refuge in a Christian land. He chose the Peloponnesus (Morea), then in the power of the Venetians, and founded a monastery at Modon. At the time of the Turkish invasion (1715) he had to flee again, and sought refuge at Venice. In 1717 the Most Serene Republic permitted the Armenian monks to establish themselves on the island of St. Lazare which was ceded to them in perpetuity. He was able to accomplish the construction of the new monastery, completed in 1740. He died in 1749 at the age of seventy-four. He gave to his monks, with the name of Antonines, the Rule of St. Benedict and their own constitutions. The services they rendered to science and to the apostolate of the press are incalculable. However, a disagree-

ment over questions regarding the monastic constitutions soon arose and, toward the end of the century (1772-73), a colony, under the leadership of Babik, went first to Triest, then to Vienna, to found a separate community that kept the same rules and the same name of Mekhitaristes, but with a distinct organization: it also rendered and still renders valuable services.

The Copts

There is little to be said about the Coptic Church of Egypt. The Union of Florence was ephemeral for this Church as for the others, though several patriarchs had correspondence with Pius IV and Gregory XIII. In 1582, thanks to the Jesuit missions, a council met at Memphis, and Patriarch John XIII again concluded a union with the Roman Church. But the day before the signing of the decrees, he died suddenly, probably poisoned, and the schismatic party nullified this attempt. In 1593 Patriarch Gabriel VIII, John's successor, made profession of Catholic faith and renewed it expressly two years later through an envoy he sent to Rome.

When the Franciscans were established in Egypt at the close of the seventeenth century, a few Catholics were still there. In 1731 Clement XII granted to the Coptic and Ethiopian monks the monastery of St. Stephen, situated near the Vatican, but this was rather a hospice for the pilgrims who came to Rome. That same year this Pope had a dozen young men admitted to the College of Propaganda, with a view to training the nucleus of a native clergy. In fact, in 1741, under Benedict XIV, the Coptic bishop of Jerusalem, Athanasius, embraced the Catholic faith and was made administrator of the faithful of his rite in Egypt. However, he never saw his flock, as he continued to reside at Jerusalem and was represented at Cairo by a vicar. About the same period Raphael Tuki, consecrated titular bishop of Arsinoe, passed most of his life at Rome and

there published the first printed edition of the principal liturgical books. He died in April, 1772. Athanasius of Jerusalem disappeared at the same period and was replaced by John Farargi, titular bishop of Hypsopolis. The bishop of Girgeh, Anthony Flaifel, became a convert, but had to come to Rome, where he died at a very advanced age early in the nineteenth century. John Farargi never received episcopal consecration. His successor, Matthew Righet, vicar apostolic of the Copts from 1788 to 1822, was in the same case.

The Ethiopians

Ever since the Copts had been led into heresy and schism, the Ethiopians had no relations with Catholicity. In 1546, following various advances made by the kings of the country, St. Ignatius decided upon the mission of Ethiopia. In 1551 Pope Paul IV appointed a Jesuit patriarch of Ethiopia, but the mission had almost no success up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the date when conversions became numerous. King Susneos made his solemn profession of faith in 1626, but the disputes with the opposing party became more intense, and a few years later, Susneos' successor, his son Basilides, expelled the Jesuits. Their departure left in the country a taste for religious discussions. Two doctrinal currents sprang up, one of them close to Catholicism. But the mission of Abyssinia was not resumed until the nineteenth century.

The Serbs

The period embraced in this volume witnessed important events in the history of the Churches of eastern Europe. New formations took place at the side of iniquitous absorptions accomplished by the patriarchs of Constantinople supported by the Turks.

The Serbs, who came from a region north of the Carpathians, had settled in the district that in the seventh century took its name from them. They were converted in the eleventh century by Byzantine missionaries. Their first archbishop, quasi-independent, was St. Sava or Sabas, son of King Stephen Nemanja. He died in 1237. In 1351 King Stephen Dushan, called the Strong, proclaimed the complete independence of his Church from the jurisdiction of the Byzantine patriarch, who sanctioned this measure only in 1376.

The autocephalous archbishopric of Achrida owed its erection to the first Bulgar empire, ruined by Basil II the Bulgaroktonos in 1019. It had subsisted, remaining independent of Constantinople even with Greek incumbents, like the Bulgar patriarchate of Ternovo, which from 1204 to the Turkish conquest of 1393, had ruled the second Bulgar empire in spirituals; and it continued after that period. As long as it was in the hands of the natives, it was able to live in spite of the exactions of the Turks. But from the middle of the eighteenth century the Greeks of the Phanar succeeded in gaining control, thanks to the increasingly higher bids which they offered to the sultans. Thus they completely ruined the see and, when it was ruined, they obtained its suppression pure and simple in 1767, two years after the destruction of the Serb autonomy of Ipek. Furthermore, that conquest was the last one made by the Phanar: then began the fatal decline.

The Rumanians

Christianized by Latin missionaries who followed the colonists of Trajan, the Rumanian people of Walachia and Moldavia followed the Latin rite until their incorporation in the first Bulgar empire in the ninth century. This empire exerted a Slav influence on the religious point of view and made them dependent on the archbishopric of Achrida, under the jurisdic-

tion of which the two provinces remained, at the same time as later they kept their autonomy in the face of the Turks, until the end of the fifteenth century. At that time Constantinople succeeded in bringing them under its jurisdiction. But Slavic remained the language of the Church and of the administration until the seventeenth century, whereas the people spoke Rumanian. The Phanariotes, while they were obtaining a wide political influence in the Danubian provinces, were Hellenizing the monasteries, where all education was concentrated. As the Slavonic tongue came to be more and more abandoned, the liturgical books had to be translated into Rumanian, but written in Slavonic characters, to assure the religious service in the country districts. In the middle of the eighteenth century this work was completed, and later the Latin alphabet was everywhere substituted for the Slavonic alphabet, owing especially to the Rumanians of Transylvania.

The Rumanians formed a numerous population spread through an autonomous grand duchy united to the Austrian crown in 1688; but it was not completely absorbed by Hungary until 1867. In the sixteenth century Calvinism was brought in there and led to a great laxity in ecclesiastical discipline, along with the ignorance characteristic of all the countries where the Eastern Schism then dominated. The repeated missions of the Jesuits in the country eventually inclined many toward union with Rome: in this number was Theophilus, bishop of Fagaras or Alba Julia.

The metropolitan of Bucharest was opposed to the conclusion of the union effected by Theophilus in 1697; and the Transylvanian boyars, for the most part won over to Calvinism, did all they could to make it fail under his successor Athanasius, even resorting to violence.

But an imperial decree (March 19, 1701) placed the Catholic Rumanians on the same footing as the Latins with regard to privileges and immunities; Cardinal Kollonitz, archbishop of

Gran and primate of Hungary, provided Athanasius with a theological adviser in the person of Father Baranyj, S.J.

Kollonitz, undaunted, sent young men to study in Rome, at the German College, the Greek College, and the College of Propaganda. Notwithstanding fresh storms, at Athanasius' death (August 19, 1713) the Rumanian Union was solidly established.

The protopopes or archpriests of the eparchy thought at first of replacing him with his last theologian, Father Szunyogh, S.J.; but he refused. A new election was annulled by the court of Vienna because of a defect of form, and the see remained vacant until 1721, the date when Rome sent the bulls to John Pataky, one of the Rumanians that Cardinal Kollonitz had formerly sent to the German College. During the vacancy various Jesuit fathers acted as administrators.

John Giurgiu, surnamed Pataky, was born in 1682. Educated at Rome, he had been ordained in the Latin rite, which fact, according to the discipline then in vogue, included his ipso facto passing to that rite. For many years he exercised the ministry among his countrymen. His election was well received by Emperor Charles VI and was confirmed by Rome in spite of the opposition of the Latin bishop of Transylvania, who desired a bishop of the Greek rite, but on condition that he should be subordinate to him, in accord with a canon of the Fourth Lateran Council. At the same time Innocent XIII canonically erected as independent the already existing Rumanian see of Fogaras or Alba Julia, but as suffragan of the Hungarian primate of Gran. Pataky occupied his see from 1721 to 1727; in 1725 he held an important synod and transferred the episcopal residence to Balaszfalva or Blasendorf. After his sudden death, Father Adam Fitter, S.J., administered the see during the vacancy, and held a synod in 1728. The next year John Innocent Micu, better known under the German name of Klein, was elected and confirmed by Clement XII.

Maria Theresa conferred on him the title of Baron von Szad, and Klein profited thereby to raise the prestige of his community. Another synod was held in 1739, but the Bishop had to strive against the Serb monk Bessarion, sent by the patriarch of Ipek, Arsenius Tchernoevitch, to bring back the Rumanians to the Orthodox communion.

To these serious difficulties was added the anticanonical conduct of Bishop Klein, which forced the Holy See to order an apostolic visitation. This was carried out by the Ruthenian bishop of Munkacz, Manuel Oslavsky. Klein had to give up his see and was replaced by Peter Paul Aaron, former student of the Greek College at Rome, with the title of vicar general and administrator. He also had to strive against the Serb emissaries, but, from the time of his episcopal consecration (1752), he gave a lively impulse to the works of the Union, convoked a synod the same year, constituted a cathedral chapter, opened a college at Blas, a theological seminary, and a printing establishment. The violent activities of the Serbs of Karlovitz required an armed intervention by the crown. In the course of a pastoral visitation, Peter Paul Aaron died in the odor of sanctity (March, 1764).

At this same period, in virtue of the same canon of the Fourth Lateran Council which had almost prevented the confirmation of Pataky, Benedict XIV established for the Rumanians living in the diocese of Nagy Varad, or Grosswardein, a vicar bishop in the person of Meletius Kovacs, bearing the title of bishop of Tegee. Here we have the beginning of the Rumanian eparchy of Oradea Mare, the Rumanian name of Nagy Varad.

After Paul Aaron came Athanasius Rednik (1764-72). During his episcopate the former Bishop Klein, who retired to Rome in 1768, died. There also ended the institution of Jesuit theologians attached to the person of the titular of the diocese. But the young Church could not yet fully govern itself by its

own power. The great foe of Rednik, Gregory Major, followed him (1773–82). However, the Society of Jesus, suppressed by Clement XIV, was able to devote the labors of its last members, now secularized, for the benefit of the Rumanians. Gregory Major sent a large number of young men to study at Rome and thus prepared for the brilliant literary renaissance of the next period.

The Serbo-Croats

In spite of every kind of difficulty, the Union spread also among the Serbs who emigrated on the lands of the Austrian Empire, and that at the very start of the seventeenth century. Simeon Vratanya, a Serbian monk and one of the emigrees, had embraced the Union. To him the Latin bishop of Zagreb, Peter Dimitrovics, granted a church for the purpose of founding there a monastery destined to become a nursery of clergy for the Serbian colonists of the Oriental rite.

In 1777 Maria Theresa, notwithstanding the resistance of the Latin bishops, who desired to keep their direct jurisdiction over the Serbs, put herself in accord with the Holy See. Pius VI (June 16, 1777) erected the city of Krijevtsy (in German, Kreutz; in Hungarian, Koros) into a Serb episcopal see of the Oriental rite. The first incumbent of the new diocese was the vicar of the bishop of Zagreb, Basil Bojitchkovitch.

The Albanians

The ancient Greek element of Sicily and of southern Italy had almost entirely disappeared in the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth under various influences. But some Albanians, who came there about the end of the fifteenth century, had founded four colonies in Sicily and about twenty-five others in Calabria. They remained attached to the Greek rite. Partly for them Gregory XIII founded the Greek College

at Rome in 1577. To avoid the intrusion of Greek bishops, often schismatic, who were coming from the East or from the Archipelago to install themselves in Calabria or in Sicily, Urban VIII established at Rome a metropolitan prelate of the Greek rite. The titular would officiate in the church of St. Athanasius and would ordain the clergy of his rite. These Albanians, called also Italo-Greeks, remained subject to the Latin bishops of the dioceses where they lived, and in 1742 Benedict XIV, in the constitution *Etsi pastoralis*, gave them the legislation which still governs them.

In 1715 Father George Guzzetta, an Albanian priest of Sicily, founder of a congregation of the Oratory of the Oriental rite which the revolutions of the nineteenth century have ruined, established at Palermo a seminary for the education of the Albanian clergy. In 1736 Clement XII founded another at St. Benedict of Ullano for Calabria, with a titular bishop at the head to confer holy orders. In 1784 another titular bishop of the same sort was established in Sicily.

As for the many Greek monasteries of Sicily and southern Italy, they had been reduced to a congregation after the fashion of the Benedictines, but under the Rule of St. Basil, at the close of the sixteenth century. Some of these followed the Latin rite, others the Greek rite, and often the monks passed from one to the other with the greatest facility. Soon these were joined by some Spanish monasteries, all of the Latin rite. This mixture was prejudicial to the purity of the Greek rite, which soon became altered in an incredible way: the famous monastery of Grottaferrata near Rome, the only one remaining after the revolutions of the nineteenth century, was long a curious example of this. However, these Basilians had a certain influence: in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they even had a whole mission of the Greek rite in the district of the Chimera on the shore of Epirus, north of Corfu.

The Georgians

I add a few words on the Georgian Church of the Caucasus, subject at first to Antioch, then independent, completely Byzantinized in the eleventh century by the Georgian monks of the monasteries of Athos, fallen into schism rather by lack of relations with Rome than for any other reason. With a view to leading it to the Union, Propaganda sent to the Caucasus in 1626 some Italian Theatines, who established themselves in eastern Georgia: in 1663 some Capuchins succeeded them. Whether from unfitness for these missions among people of the Greek rite or from some other unfavorable circumstances, they obtained only partial success. In 1801 the incorporation of Georgia into Russia made impossible any apostolate for the Union, and the few Catholics of the Byzantine rite still remaining passed over to the Latin rite or the Armenian rite, while the Orthodox Church of Georgia was incorporated in the Russian Holy Synod.

The Ruthenian Church

The most interesting part of the Eastern world at the period we have now reached is the vast region formed by the Kingdom of Poland and the young Russian Empire. Politically, ecclesiastically, and to a certain extent even ethnographically, these two countries form two worlds altogether in contrast to each other, which need to be treated separately, though we must keep in mind their mutual relations.

At the opening of the seventeenth century the Ruthenian Church of the Kingdom of Poland, extending especially in eastern Galicia, Red Russia, White Russia, and the district about Kiev, grew tired of seeing that the patriarchs of Constantinople, who there exercised religious supremacy ever since the conversion of the Ruthenian people with St. Vladimir, did

nothing more than levy taxes without showing any concern for the religious welfare of the population. A discontent, fostered by the societies that were founded by the chief laymen, showed a desire for a change. The Jesuits, who then had residences and flourishing colleges in Poland, noted this movement and tried to take some advantage from it. Father Skarga, one of the most famous orators of the sixteenth century, published in 1576 his book on *The Unity of the Church* and dedicated it to the most powerful nobleman of Poland, the prince of Ostrog, Constantine. This book made such a stir that it had to be re-printed in 1590.

In that same year the bishops, meeting at Brest Litovsk, decided to break off relations with the Eastern patriarchs who were doing nothing for the country and not to recognize any other authority but that of the king. Sigismund III, a devout sovereign and openly Catholic, pointed out to them the only path for them to follow: union with Rome. Meanwhile the Prince of Ostrog, to counterbalance the influence of the bishop of Lutsk, Cyril Terlitzki or Terlecki, with whom he had just been embroiled, had placed on the see of Vladimir his friend, the senator Hypace Pocij, and came to an understanding with him for the conclusion of the Union.

In June, 1596, the metropolitan and a few bishops drew up their act of union with Rome, which Hypace Pocij and Cyril Terlitzki at once brought to Clement VIII. In a solemn consistory the Pope admitted the Ruthenian Church to the communion of the Holy See, guaranteeing it the maintenance of its rite and privileges. Several million souls were thus gained.

But the agitation of the partisans of the schism was such that the cause of the union would have succumbed if Providence had not sent unexpected helpers.

These did not come from the Latin clergy. The Kingdom of Poland embraced three nations, we might even say four: Polish, Lithuanian, Ruthenian, and Armenian. The Polish element was

certainly the most cultivated, but also the most penetrated with its own worth, and the least disposed to hide it.

The Latin clergy did not know the ancient Slav language, the sacred idiom of the Ruthenians, and the Ruthenian pope or monk did not know Latin. Invincible prejudices, even yet too lively, separated these two elements. Although the Ruthenians remained schismatics, the consequences did not make themselves felt sharply; but immediately after the Union, with a few exceptions, the national antipathy had free rein.

Rome was obliged to intervene several times and to declare that the Ruthenian bishops, although of the Greek rite, were true bishops, possessing a true jurisdiction, and that the Latin clergy did not have the right to require the tithe from the Ruthenian clergy. The latter were married and ignorant, and had to rid themselves of all the vices engendered by the schism. The Polish clergy, celibate, proud of their real worth, instead of extending a charitable hand to their brethren and helping them to rise, generally heaped contempt upon them. For most of the Poles, the Ruthenians, even the Catholics, were not, and are not even now, anything but quasi-schismatics that must be made Catholic by making them Latin. In vain Rome severely forbade the arbitrary passing to the Latin rite; the decree on this subject issued in 1626 and several times renewed since then, could not be published on account of the opposition of the King, who in turn feared the opposition of the Latin clergy. This is a painful page, too often unknown or misunderstood, of the religious history of Poland, and one of the causes of the final punishment that still weighs on that nation.

At the moment when the Union, seriously threatened by these different circumstances, was about to collapse, God raised up St. Josaphat Kuncevyč and Benjamin Rutsky. John Kuncevyč was born at Volodymyr about 1580. In 1604, under the name of Josaphat, he entered the monastery of the Holy Trinity of Vilna and succeeded in winning to his kind of life a certain

Ruthenian young man, Benjamin Rutsky. The latter, born in Calvinism in 1573, but converted at Prague in 1591, was directed by the Jesuits to the Greek College in Rome, where he spent four years. There, by express orders of Clement VIII, he took an oath that attached him all his life to the Greco-Slav rite. After many vicissitudes, he accepted the consequences of an oath made at first against his own wishes. In 1608, under the name of Joseph, he made his profession in that same monastery of the Holy Trinity where Josaphat had preceded him. Two years later the metropolitan Potsiey made him his vicar general for all Lithuania. In 1609, following a general uprising of the schismatical party and an attempt to assassinate the metropolitan, King Sigismund III and his tribunals rendered justice to the Catholics: Potsiey was able to have a coadjutor in the person of Rutsky, capable of continuing his work some day. He died peacefully in 1613.

The monastery of the Holy Trinity of Vilna, reformed by Rutsky and Josaphat, was able to spread and make new foundations. The priests of the Society of Jesus helped for the training of novices. In 1617 Rutsky laid the foundations of a new Basilian congregation organized on the model of the Latin orders. This congregation by itself was the salvation of the Ruthenian Union. Unfortunately neither then nor later could anything serious be realized for the secular clergy: not until the beginning of the eighteenth century do we find at Leopold (Lemberg, Lwow) the first Armeno-Ruthenian seminary, and that with the cooperation of the Italian Theatines. The Basilian monks were everything in the Ruthenian Church; they were even too influential. Although the hierarchy was taken exclusively from their ranks, their antagonism toward it, as also toward the secular clergy, would later have harmful consequences.

In 1617 Josaphat Kuncevyč was consecrated coadjutor of

Polotsk with right of succession. But, three years afterward the patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophanes IV, called by the schismatic party, was all-powerful at Kiev and the neighborhood. At a single time he consecrated a metropolitan, Job Boretsky, and eight bishops. These he set up in opposition to the Catholic prelates. The best educated and the most brilliant was Meletius Smotrisky, a former student of the Academy of Ostrog, a fervent polemist and talented writer.

A bitter strife ensued, amid vicissitudes that were sometimes bloody. The most illustrious victim was the archbishop of Polotsk, Josaphat Kuncevyč, who, through the agitation stirred up by Smotrisky, suffered death at the hands of an excited mob at Vitebsk in 1623. This martyrdom was the salvation of the Union. The civil authorities bestirred themselves and severely punished the guilty persons, and at the same time the process of Josaphat's beatification was opened. Smotrisky himself, after a long moral crisis, was converted in 1627, fell back momentarily through weakness, but promptly returned and died a holy death in 1633.

The death of Sigismund III (1632) and the coming of his son Wladislaus IV led to fresh conflicts. The electoral diet made important concessions to the schismatics. The execution of these "articles of pacification" was an endless source of legal proceedings which the King's lukewarmness encouraged. Making claim to the throne of Muscovy, Wladislaus wished to coax the so-called Orthodox element, but thus, without being aware, he was laying the basis of one of the causes of the fall of Poland.

The end of the Cossack wars and especially the glorious reign of John Sobieski (1674-96) permitted great progress in the Ruthenian Catholic Church in spite of the culpable indifference of the Latin clergy. Under the metropolitan Cyprian Jokhovsky (1674-93), the eparchies of Leopold (Lemberg, Lwow), and Peremyshl passed to the Union with their bishops; the Ukraine

itself was converted almost entirely. But Kiev was at hand, under the domination of Russia, like the citadel of the schism. The metropolitan Leo Zalenski (1694-1708) was exposed to the persecutions of Peter the Great whose armies had invaded Poland to put Augustus II in place of Stanislaus Leszcynski. In 1720 the Czar established a schismatic bishopric at Moghilev in White Russia. However, Leo Kishka (1714-28), successor of George Vinnitzki (1708-13), was able in 1720 to convoke in peace at Zamosk a council that has remained celebrated in the history of the Ruthenian Church, although its Latinizing influence has been exaggerated. From this period, however, the Ruthenian nobility, yielding to the age-old prejudices of the Poles, passed more and more to the Latin rite, the outward success of the ecclesiastical institutions changed even to the point of regrettable extravagances, which later served as a pretext for the destruction of the Union in the Russian Empire, after the last partition of Poland.

It was under the metropolitans Florian Ghrebnitsky (1748-62) and Philip Volodkovitch (1762-78) that appeared the signs premonitory of the total ruin of one part of the Union. The schismatic Bishop George Koninsky of Moghilev and Melchisedech the head of the monastery of Motrena, on the banks of the Dnieper near Kiev, agreed together about organizing an active anti-Catholic propaganda, backed by the Russian Holy Synod, with perpetual recourse to the diet of Varsovie, supported by the Russian ambassador Repnine. At the same time the confederations of Slutsk, Thorn, and Radom, followed by the confederation of Bar, prepared the way for foreign intervention. The first partition of Poland, in 1772, put under Russian domination 900,000 Catholic Ruthenians; the partitions of 1793 and 1795 increased this number to several million. A new situation began for the Ruthenian Church in Russia and Austria, but its history belongs to the nineteenth century.

The Russian Church

The northernmost branch of the Eastern Church was the Church of Russia, or rather, as it was then called, of Muscovy: the term "Russia" was applied to what we now call Galicia and Little Russia. In Volume III of this work we saw how St. Vladimir was baptized in 988: at an early date a bishopric was founded at Kiev, soon changed to a metropolitan see, and several episcopal sees created in accordance with the diffusion of Christianity. The Mongol invasion at the end of the thirteenth century obliged the metropolitans to transfer their residence at first to Vladimir, then to Moscow, but all of them continued to bear the title of "metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia," and depended hierarchically on Constantinople. It was from Moscow that Isidore set out in 1437 to attend the Council of Florence. When he returned he had to accept the Union at Kiev, but not at Moscow. When he left that city to return to Italy, the grand kniaz Basil (Vasily) III declared the see vacant, and (December 5, 1448) a council of Russian bishops, assembled by his orders, appointed to the see the bishop of Riazan, Jonas, who even succeeded in being recognized in 1451 by King Casimir of Poland, who protected the antipope Felix V. At the latter's death, Casimir was reconciled with Rome, and the nine eparchies dependent on the Polish crown in civil matters were detached from the Muscovite group in 1458 by Callistus III, then by Pius II his successor. This was the Church of Kiev.

Jonas died in 1461. His successors kept the title of Kiev, but no longer appeared there. Besides, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the strictly Russian eparchies, subject to various princes, witnessed many changes. The metropolitan see of Moscow increased in proportion with the increase of the domain of the grand kniaz of the city, who soon took the title

of czar. But both Moscow and Kiev continued to depend on Constantinople.

This was not the doing of the czars. In 1586 the Melchite patriarch of Antioch, Joachim V, went to Russia to beg. Czar Theodore (Feodor) I, or rather his counselor Boris Godunov, requested Joachim to erect the see of Moscow into a patriarchate. Joachim declined to do so, but promised to speak of the proposal to his colleague of Constantinople, Jeremias II, the man we saw at the beginning of this chapter in conflict with the Protestants. Jeremias came to Smolensk in 1558, and both Theodore and Boris repeated their request. On January 26, 1589, the metropolitan of Moscow, Job, was consecrated bishop a second time, but with the title of patriarch, by Jeremias himself. The new Patriarch had jurisdiction over all the lands subject to the czar, and the see of Moscow soon came after that of Jerusalem, that is, ranking fifth among the Eastern patriarchates. In 1590 a synod of Constantinople ratified this election: the patriarchs of Antioch and of Jerusalem subscribed to the acts and, in 1593, at the urgent petition of Moscow, the patriarch of Alexandria, Meletius Pighas, likewise approved them.

The Russian patriarchate lasted from 1589 to 1700, the year when the last titular died. The person who held this high office enjoyed an immense influence: after the adventure of the false Dmitri and all the events known in Russian history as "the time of troubles," the Patriarch Philaret Romanov, father of Czar Michael Romanov, the founder of the dynasty, was the real master of the power from 1619 until his death (1633). In his time began the correction of the ecclesiastical books. This would later lead to a terrible schism, aggravated by political complications.

The Byzantine or Greek liturgy was not permanently fixed until the use of printing. Before that, the variants in the office books and even in the text of the Mass were numerous, and many special usages prevailed here and there. The same was

true in Russia. Besides, the Slavonic version, owing to copyists' errors, contained a large number of mistakes. The people, stagnating in a deplorable ignorance, held to what they saw and heard as to the essential of religion. In 1506 a monk of Athos, Maximus the Greek, who had been called by Czar Basil IV, paid dearly for his attempts of reform. Ivan IV the Terrible introduced the printing press into Muscovy. The first books printed were liturgical works. In 1618 the archimandrite Dionysius, because he corrected several evident mistakes, was thrown into prison. Then the idea of reform was more or less abandoned.

It was taken up again by the third successor of Philaret Romanov, Nikon (1652-58), an energetic and sometimes violent man, but a man who had the misfortune of living at a time when education was rare in Russia. In 1654 he assembled at Moscow a council that decided upon the general correction of the Church books according to the Greek manuscripts that had been brought from the East at great expense, and also in practice according to the editions printed by the Greeks at Venice. Thus today, we find no striking difference between these and the Greeks, apart from a certain number of details.

This reform, no less than the Patriarch's haughty character, won him many enemies, so that he resigned his office in 1658 and subsequently tried in vain to recover it. He died in 1681.

Yet the reform was accomplished. But the partisans of the old books and of certain ceremonies that were suppressed, stirred up a schism with its center at the monastery of Solovetsk on the White Sea. Its chief promoter was a protopope or archpriest by the name of Avvakum. The use of arms was required to overcome them; but that was in vain. The Raskolniki (schismatics), divided into two principal groups, continued to exist: the more numerous, called Starovietsi ("old believers"), still form a Church apart, more flourishing than ever. As for the antihierarchical sects, the civil reforms of Peter the Great in-

creased the number of their followers, notwithstanding the rigor with which they were pursued. Maintaining the principle of private interpretation, they divided into a multitude of secondary sects, at times extravagant and cruel. The vague mysticism natural to the Slav race has helped to give them a particular stamp.

The last patriarch of Moscow, Adrian, died in 1700. Peter the Great, not wishing to have confronting him a power almost a rival to his own or able to counterbalance it, left the patriarchal see vacant, and entrusted the administration of the Church to the archbishop of Ryazan and Murom, Stephen Javorsky, with the title of patriarchal exarch. Somewhat later he confided to Theophane Prokopovitch, whom he had placed on the see of Pskov, the editing of a new ecclesiastical code, the Rule, which bears the name of Peter. This situation lasted twenty years. Prokopovitch, much inclined to the Protestant ideas, was a docile instrument of Peter, who was the real author of the celebrated Ecclesiastical Rule. Little by little it was signed by most of the bishops and archimandrites of the Empire. They conformed with a compliance that showed how completely the Russian Church was ready for total servility to the state. On January 25, 1721 the imperial manifesto was signed; and a month later was officially inaugurated the Most Holy Governing Synod, a sort of ministry quite like the other government machinery, consisting of bishops, archimandrites, and priests, few in number, but powerless to do anything without the imperial procurator, always a layman. All the Synod could do was to prepare the materials, study them, and propose a solution: but the final decision belonged to the czar, who thus combined in himself the two powers, civil and religious. The most curious fact is that this bizarre institution, which still governs the Russian Church and which has been extended to all the Orthodox states, was approved by the patriarchs of Constantinople and of Antioch in 1723.

In the course of this chapter we have seen the formation of a whole series of Eastern Churches in communion with Rome. But Russia obstinately remained outside the movement. The chief cause of this exception is the government's dominance of the spiritual power. At the time of Peter the Great's visit to Paris in 1717, the Gallican Sorbonne took the occasion to elaborate a full plan of reunion with the Catholic Church, giving the pope the least possible place in the scheme. Of course, the plan failed, in spite of the efforts of a Jansenist in relation with the schismatic hierarchy of Holland. This man was Abbé Jubé de la Cour, who became the promoter of the idea in Russia itself, with a zeal worthy of a better cause. Up to our time, Russia has remained closed to Catholic propaganda.

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